

Eighth International Conference on Learning and Educational Media

# Caught in the Web *or* Lost in the Textbook?

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## **Introduction**

Éric Bruillard, Bente Aamotsbakken,  
Susanne V. Knudsen and Mike Horsley

This volume gathers the major part of the contributions which have been presented during the 8<sup>th</sup> IARTEM conference on learning and educational media, held in Caen in October 2005, “Caught in the Web or lost in the Textbook?”. More than eighty participants attended the conference, coming from five continents and twenty-seven different countries. This short introduction gives an overview of the conference and volume content.

### **Keynotes and special sessions**

Three keynotes explored research questions concerning the future of textbooks and different ways of analysing their content, according to psychological or linguistic views, underlying important aspects in the study of educational resources. Pierre Møglin presented a framework for understanding the possible place of traditional textbooks and digital resources in an evolving educational context. Alan Peacock and Ailie Cleghorn presented some theoretical perspectives on text materials for schooling and derived some implications for their design. Nadine Lucas showed how textbook analysis provided a methodological challenge in computational linguistics.

A theoretical session provided conceptual frameworks in questions around identity, family, text interpretation and informal learning. Susanne V. Knudsen discussed the concept of intersectionality, linking relationships between socio-cultural categories and identities, and their use in textbook analysis. Eva Matthes presented recent results of socio-scientific family research in Germany and examined current textbooks from this perspective. Bente Aamotsbakken discussed relations between the creation of identity and reading, exploring the importance of different models of text interpretation. Anne Kahr-Højland explored informal learning in connection with scientific museums, through the design and development of an interactive narrative facilitated by mobile phones.

A pre-conference meeting, organised by Paul Aubin, was devoted to online catalogues of textbooks, presenting several ongoing projects in France, Spain, Belgium and Canada. A French session followed, but only two contributions from this pre-conference are included in this volume. Gérard Puimatto discussed online services providing commercial contents in education referring to the perspective of the sociology of technological innovation. Hélène Collet explored key issues concerning historical documentaries: how to combine scientific rigour and adapt material for a young public, how to create an attractive object, affordable from a financial point of view and how to depict subject in representing History.

## Workshop 1: Changing Identities in a Global World

The papers presented in the first workshop explored the question of various identities and the changing of identities related to textbooks and learning processes. A common feature in the papers was that the awareness of questions related to identity and the creation of identity should have more focus in textbooks.

*Three papers dealt with the subject of history*, adopting different perspectives on the concept of identity related to textbooks. Stuart Foster dealt with the history of the Second World War and how the subject had been omitted in English history textbooks. The presentation concentrated on the Allied and Axis powers. Consequently, the history of people from the Empire and Commonwealth became underrepresented. The paper written by Janez Justin also discussed the ‘Missing Parts’ in textbooks. This paper dealt with linguistic utterances and implicit meanings found in Slovene history textbooks, using methodological tools grounded in discourse theories. The third paper dealing with history textbooks concentrated on prehistory and its impact on the construction of European identity. Miriam Sénécheau presented a variety of examples and drew attention to ancient Rome as a ‘melting pot of people’ and its parallels to the ‘multi-ethnicity’ of today’s Europe. This had implications for modern history textbooks in Germany, as they attempt to develop students’ abilities for democratic participation.

The paper written by Inga Balčiūnienė and Natalija Mažeikienė dealt with *religious and moral education and education in citizenship* in relation to new social identities in Lithuania. Today’s textbooks in religious education did not only concentrate on religious identity, but also aimed at creating responsible, active and intellectual citizens. However, the idea of “multi-faith” religious education is not yet realized in the textbooks.

*Two papers were about textbooks for early primary school*, i.e. the paper written by Kira Mahamud about motherhood in primary school textbooks during the Franco-period (1939-1956) and the paper written by Wendelin Sroka about the representations of ‘homeland’ and ‘family’ in Russian and Chukchi textbooks. In Kira Mahamud’s article one hypothesis proposed was that the emotionally charged phenomenon of motherhood was manipulated by the New State and the Catholic Church for ideological reasons. Wendelin Sroka showed that in the Soviet era the Soviet Union was identified as “homeland”, whereas the Chukchi textbooks had space for both the Soviet Union and the tundra as ‘homeland’. Also family patterns and their representation in the textbooks have undergone significant changes since the 1960s. Today the family is considered as the natural environment for children outside school. The Chukchi textbooks of today showed that the former Soviet boarding school system has been done away with.

The paper by Muhammad Ayaz Naseem dealt with textbooks in Urdu language and social studies and their preference for the inclusion of masculine, militaristic and nationalist narratives. The paper discussed how the educational discourse constituted a multi-layered gendered constitution of subjects where femininity is in need of



protection from the masculine and militaristic state. The paper, written by Kalplata Pandey, discussed gender related issues in Indian Textbooks. One conclusion was that Indian textbooks and curriculum are in need of a revision regarding the role of females. Furthermore, teachers are in need of guidance in classroom behaviour and interaction with students.

## **Workshop 2: Textbooks and Educational Media in the Learning Environment**

The papers presented in Workshop 2 explored the role and function of textbooks and educational media in learning environments. The papers utilised a range of different research methodologies, examined a variety of learning environments and discussed the interaction of teaching and learning materials (textbooks and educational media) and learners in the learning environment.

*Three papers examined aspects of ICT learning environments* and approached the research problem and subsequent methodologies (and data) from different perspectives. Kalmus provided an overview of research on socialisation in terms of ‘information age approaches’ to teaching and learning. In particular, Kalmus applied trends she outlined in her review of socialisation in the ‘information society’ to developments in texts and educational media. Šaparnienė used quantitative methodologies to examine student learning strategies, statistically identify a range of student strategies and linked these strategies to computer literacies. Overall, Šaparnienė found that the highest levels of computer literacy were associated with interactive learning in group contexts. Julkunen, explored a similar theme in researching what is learnt by students about cooperative and collaborative learning in WebCT online learning environments. Using an interview approach with teacher education students Julkunen examined what student teachers learned about teaching and learning approaches in their own learning in a WebCT course. The results showed that use of teaching and learning strategies and approaches such as collaborative learning in their teacher education courses, encouraged pre-service educators to utilise these approaches when they commenced teaching.

*Two papers explored reading, text and learning environments.* Göransson’s paper highlighted research where publishers improved technical texts by undertaking research on the learning environment of firefighters in training. Using a sociocultural approach Göransson was able to identify critical characteristics of learners that were used to modify and improve firefighting teaching and learning materials. Reichenberg and Axelsson investigated how teachers and pupils talk about expository texts in the classroom; and to what extent structured text talks affect teachers’ and pupils’ talk about expository texts. The researchers concluded that the different ways that teachers approach this task has a significant impact on student learning.

Horsley’s paper outlined a new research approach to examining the classroom use of teaching and learning materials, by adapting a classroom observation system to the

use of teaching and learning materials for use with video analysis. Using this methodology an examination of differences and similarities between novice and expert teachers use of teaching and learning material was developed. Rodriguez's paper overviewed research conducted on curriculum materials and teaching and learning materials in Honduras. The research identified a number of projects developing teaching and learning materials and overviewed some key recommendations based on the research. The final paper in this workshop is the paper by Gintaras Šaparnis, where he undertook a mixed method study of aspects and expressions of democracy in educational management. The study showed that expressing opinions and collegiality were seen as critical features of the more democratic educational management styles in schools.

### **Workshop 3: Quality, Evaluation and Selection**

The papers presented in Workshop 3 explored the quality, evaluation and selection of textbooks in different countries and curriculum subjects. The papers utilised various theories and research methodologies, examined by qualitative and quantitative methods to analyse quality, evaluation and selection in textbooks. All papers examined aspects of quality in textbooks.

*Two papers focused on quality* in textbooks using alternate methodologies rather than content analysis. Anthony Haynes, reflected a structuralist point of view by drawing on educational theory. He found that textbooks published for undergraduates in English Literary Studies provided four modes of learning; abstract learning, concrete learning, reflective learning and active learning. Jaakko Väisänen reported on visual texts in history textbooks, used in Finish upper secondary schools. He introduced the concept of "imagetext" or "scriptovisual text", and found that the textbooks in history seldom used visual texts as a pedagogical tool to represent historical information. On the contrary, most images were decorative and showed few interactions with the verbal text.

*Four papers concentrated on evaluation.* Anita Norlund included the students' evaluation by partly analysing interpersonal structures as the desired student behaviour in Swedish textbooks, by partly discussing the reader him- or herself. Her research raised the problem of evaluating sources of textbooks and claims that the Internet as a source where "anything may be published", or "published by anyone" provides difficulties for text constructors. Arsen Djurovic presented a quantitative survey of the popularity of history in primary and secondary schools in Serbia. Ranking the students' responses, history was placed as number six or seven out of fourteen curriculum subjects. The students' positive and negative views were discussed in the light of the change of curriculum and coming textbooks. Maria Nogova & Jana Huttova presented the process of development and testing of textbooks evaluation criteria in Slovakia. On the basis of several years' experience in creating new evaluation criteria, they identified important factors for a more objective and transparent textbook approval system. These factors included the quality of textbooks related to the education system as a whole, foreign experiences

and giving space and time for a gradual implementation of the criteria. James McCall presented practical experiences with textbook evaluation in East Africa. He highlighted the important criteria of evaluating whether or not textbooks cover the curriculum in these countries.

*Five papers explored selection of textbooks.* Zuzana Sikorova looked at the teachers' selections of textbooks in primary and secondary schools in the Czech Republic. She found that the teachers had a significant opportunity to participate in the process of selection, whereas the school head-masters primarily approved the selected textbooks, and the students' opinions of textbooks had minimal influence. However, the Ministry of Education was important in the approval process. Evaluation and selection by the Ministry of Education was highlighted by Daniel Chebutuk Rotich and Joseph Musakali. They presented changes in the processes in Kenya with the role of the ministerial textbook vetting committee. They demonstrated ministerial emphasis on technical specifications rather than the content of the textbooks. Anna Johnsson Harrie presented historical research on the Swedish state approval of civic textbooks for grammar in upper secondary school from 1974 until 1991. She found that the notion of curriculum dominated approval, but that correctness and design were also important criteria. Also the question of balance was raised in the government statements about textbooks. Ioannis Exarhos presented a current quantitative survey of teachers' preferences in primary school in Greece. He focused on the structure of science textbooks, and perceptions about science texts and science illustrations. Chaechun Gim provided an overview of the Korean textbook issuing system, split into three different categories; government-copyright textbooks, government-authorized textbooks and government-approved textbooks. He presented critical views of the government-authorized textbooks, and proposed to develop higher-quality textbooks by reducing the influence of the national government.

Finally, Jesus Rodríguez Rodríguez and Helena Zapico Barbeito described an experience of producing and adapting educational materials with and for the elderly in rural and urban contexts. Byong-Sun Kwak compared Korean and Namibia School Curriculum with focus on Textbook Provision.

#### **Workshop 4: Design of Learning Materials**

Workshop 4 did not provide same unity of themes and topics compared to the other workshops and provided very different views about textbooks and educational media, with some concern about design.

Tom Wikman, analysed the rhetoric of a civics textbook from the German Democratic Republic, and identified what he called the manipulative or persuasive textbook, showing five characteristics. He reflected on potential results should the same analysis be applied to textbooks trying to convince a reader about the benefits of democracy currently.

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Susan Bliss presented the results of two research projects giving an overview of the use of geography textbooks in schools. She raised the question of how knowledge about the world was organised and understood from different viewpoints. She considered the question, *Would the heavy geography textbook be replaced by a new, light, small, current 'textbook on a CD-ROM', promoting a diversity of global perspectives?*

To what extent are literary film adaptations useful as educational texts? Arne Engelstad advocated the complexity and advantages of transforming a work of literature into film for school use and briefly described a method for building bridges between the traditional and the modern, between literature and film.

According to Micheline Ravelonanahary, everyday reality that teachers face in developing countries contributes to the result that even those books supposedly aimed at poorer countries are at best of limited use and therefore ineffective. Appealing to textbook writers to consider problems specific to developing countries, she detailed an alternative approach to textbook design.

Jonas Ruškus and Rasa Pocevičienė also gave recommendations to textbook writers. Their concern was the representation of disability and they showed that current Lithuanian textbooks contributed to the formation of negative stereotypes about disability.

In a project to develop benchmarks for resourcing teaching and learning, Mike Horsley compared national and international spending on teaching and learning materials, focusing on comparing expenditure on textbooks and Information and Communication Technologies (ICT).

Teodoras Tamošiūnas showed how information from the economic and social environment served as didactic material for students' theses.

Marie Falkesgaard Slot explored the development of textual competence during students' work with multimodal learning material.

### **Some concluding remark**

The textbook and educational media research field engenders international interest and this volume provides a wide overview of current research questions. International conferences offer a significant opportunity to exchange points of view from different perspectives and different countries, keeping in mind that education reflects many cultural and contextual features.

We hope this volume, taking into account the diversity and the quality of the different contributions, constitutes a major source book for research on textbook and educational media. The following step is the next IARTEM conference in Tønsberg in 2007.

**Keynotes,**

**Theory and French sessions**



## **The Textbook and after...**

Pierre Mœglin

By way of introduction, I will start with the difficult question of the relations between educational institutions and their tools and media. This difficulty is now exacerbated by the claims of some of them that I will discuss in more detail: because they are digital, these tools claim to be “new”; and, because they are new, they claim to be able to replace pre-existing educational resources. More radically, they claim to revolutionize the institution, its functions and methods. In my opinion, a significant element of this difficulty derives from the limits of the two approaches that the treatment of the question involves.

The first approach is that of “education technologists”. I would include in this category, besides the remnants of the Behaviourist School, experts for whom pedagogical aid can be imposed externally. The main drawback of this approach is the risk of confusing three levels that have nothing to do one with one another: the individual level of user familiarisation with innovations that are imposed from outside; the scientific level of the link between theories deriving from the social sciences with other theories deriving from engineering or information technology, with the recurrent risk of contamination of the first by the second; the collective level (at which I would place my reflections), that is, of institutional decisions, political choices and social imperatives where the interface between institutions and digital techniques needs to be thought through dialectically, in very different terms from those at the individual level.

Unfortunately, it is the individual level that frequently acts as reference point, encouraging the multiplication of questionable formulae, such as: technology “making breakthroughs”, it is a “challenge”, it produces an “impact”, it needs to be “tamed” or “domesticated”. Each time, the digital educational technology seems to be shaking up an institution that doesn't expect it, but which must submit to it. I will show that this approach is in general responsible for an overestimation of the value of tools and media, in particular those which are digital.

On the other hand, we have the new sociological school of thought on education. Free from the constraints of functionalist determinism that, under the influence of Bourdieu, long reduced school to a function of reproduction, researchers associated with this school reject all reference to constraints imposed from outside, including those that transmit systems of information and communication.

It is worth noting, in this respect, that Dubet (2002), Duru-Bellat and Van Zanten (1999) or Meirieu (1987) (among others) never evoke educational tools and media as such. When they do occasionally mention them, it is only to underline their malleability. According to them, those who use them make of them what they will. In other words, these tools and media have no material substance, nor any active role

of “objectivation”, nor crystallisation, nor, *a fortiori*, of amplification of present trends wherever they are used. Just as simplistic as the previous overestimation, this underestimation of educational tools and media in general and digital tools in particular reveals an inadequate appreciation of their educational range. It is forgotten, in particular, that educational tools and media are charged with the memory of previous uses and customs, and that they are also, sometimes, the repositories of new projects of use and organisation.

Turning away from these two approaches, my hypothesis is the following: the link between educational digitalisation and institutional transformations in the educational sphere result from the fact that in their search for solutions to the crisis the sphere is experiencing, some of its actors put digital tools and media to use as part of a dual process of “re-institutionalisation” and “reindustrialisation”.

In light of this hypothesis, the initial question, that of the relations between institutions and their tools and media, becomes that of these actors, and of the reasons why they feel the need to promote such tools and media, to the detriment of any other (the digital versus the traditional textbook). The question arises also of the balance of power that they create in their favour and the projects and educational objects, as well as the institutional models and societal representations to which they apply educational digitalisation.

I will approach this question in two steps: firstly, I will consider what is institutional in educational mediatisation, by comparing the cases of textbooks and digital tools; secondly, I will look at the industrial transformation of educational institutions and the impacts of these changes, in the digital era, within the educational sphere as it relates to society at large.

### **Institutional stakes of educational mediatisation**

In this first stage of my reflections on the links between educational institutions and digitalisation, I will put forward three principles which illustrate what is institutional in educational tools and media. Institutional is to be taken here to mean both in the sense that these tools and media contribute to the institutionalisation of education and that they are, themselves institutions.

First principle, traditional and digital mediatisation is not imposed from outside the educational institution; this mediatisation is at the heart of its existence as an institution. Second principle, because of their institutional status educational tools and media are structured by the dialectic principles of all institutionalisation, that is, between that which institutes and that which is instituted. Third principle, as vectors of educational institutionalisation, educational tools and media combine with their practical usefulness the ideological function of recognition.



***First principle: at the heart of institutionalisation, mediatisation***

Professor Benhamou recently published a half page article in the journal *Le Monde* at the French-speaking Virtual Medical University, of which he is the founder and which brings together 27 of the 32 French universities of medicine. With some eloquence - “teaching digitally is to emerge from the scholastic sphere to enter into the interactive sphere” -, his plea in favour of digital pedagogy heralds a double revolution: the irruption of virtual reality into the pedagogical sphere and the advent, thanks to Internet, of the “century of pedagogy”. Taking the opposite point of view, I will argue that educational digitalisation is not external to the institution, but that on the contrary it is essentially of the same nature. The historian Rémond (2003, 10) suggests as much when he recalls that

“the history of educational institutions is thus inseparable from that of the techniques and innovations that affect the means of communication and processes of reproduction, from the monastic copyist to the photocopy”.

This close link between the history of the institution and the history of its techniques explains, according to Jeanneret (1998, 3), that

“A state of the school is defined to a large extent by these material and symbolic productions: the room, the amphitheatre, the picture, the slate, the roneograph, the slide, the exercise, the copy, the textbook.”

The textbook provides a good illustration of this relation between institutionalisation and mediatisation. I adopt the definition of Choppin (1992) of the textbook as being any work which includes instructions and recommendations to help masters and pupils. This excludes therefore, for example, abstracts and compilations of texts that, since the dawn of time although used in class (named “classics” for this reason), have no added educational value.

The idea of the modern textbook dates back to the French Revolution, and the first examples could be found at the beginning of the 19th century. The textbook is therefore exactly contemporaneous with the birth of the modern educational institution. This coincidence is not fortuitous: the textbook derives its institutional application from the way it suits the needs of projects that underpin the basic concept of the education system.

The textbook guarantees the promotion of political and ideological strategies, in combination with the organisational project, that, during the 19th century (from Guizot, minister of the July Monarchy, to Jules Ferry, minister of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Republic), gives birth to the present school system. It is a powerful bureaucratic structure; the affirmation at one and the same time of a national mission and an individual obligation; it spreads a universalistic ideology with universal application (going so far as to justify colonialism), and, in France more than elsewhere, the establishment of a system of selection which, in the name of “republican elitism” has nothing egalitarian about it but its injustice.

Why does this, national, standardized, mass educational administration find in the textbook its ideal vector? Because it is simultaneously the instrument of grammatical, linguistic, cultural and political standardisation of the territory; the tool for the normalisation of social conduct - what Elias (1973) calls “civilisation”; the translation and conversion of scientific disciplines into school programs; and, not least, the jewel of private publishing that, with print-runs of hundreds of thousands of copies, sometimes more, produce its first bestsellers and thus attains an industrial level of production.

It is not therefore by chance, that in 1833 France there should be new laws on schooling: the definition of spelling as a subject matter to teach; the realisation of the idea of a Nation; the affirmation of the central role of the school in social progress; the choice of collective, simultaneous teaching as the official method; and the multiplication of spelling books and dictation books (dictation being one of the school exercises which the textbook is best suited to).

Thus, combining the four projects that are at the origin of the modern education system - political and ideological, organisational, educational, and economic & industrial projects - the textbook contributes directly to the setting up of the modern educational institution. It creates its social legitimisation, its methods, its organisation and its relations with publishers and the market.

Is what happened during the 19<sup>th</sup> century for the traditional textbook, happening today with digital techniques?

### ***Second principle: institutional ambivalence of educational tools and media***

Before tackling this question it is necessary to draw the conclusions of what has just been said; as they are institutionalized and contribute to the institutionalisation of education tools and media embody the dual ambivalence that characterizes any institution: at one and the same time instituting and instituted, endowed with practical efficiency and symbolic legitimacy.

It is this that gives them a special status between, on one hand, the “ballistic” conception (which attributes excessive power to them), and, on the other, a sociological conception (that, on the contrary, denies them all power). This is what I will seek to demonstrate now.

### ***Dialectic of the instituting and the instituted***

As is the case with all institutions, educational tools and media are dialectically instituting and instituted. Their instituting function is demonstrated, amongst other things, through textbooks, whose power of educational recommendation derives from the close relations its authors entertained with the ministry. But textbooks also depend on what teachers and pupils do with them. Jules Ferry, and several ministers after him, advised teachers to use the textbooks, rather than become their servant. From this point on, textbooks are also instituted. This dialectic conception of institutionalisation departs from the two dominant currents in the field.

On the one hand, conventionalism, which can be seen in approaches such as the micro-oriented social interaction of Goffman, the sociology of organisations, or Habermas' Theory of Communicative Action and the new educational sociology that I evoked at the beginning. All these approaches claim their origin in rival philosophies.

This convention reduces the institution to an ephemeral crystallisation, regularly contested by its major actors (teachers, pupils, parents, policy makers, public opinion). It is as if the institution had, in itself, neither permanence nor autonomy, and as if its tools and media counted for nothing in the demand for autonomy.

In fact, the convention overlooks what the school institution owes to the textbook: it is at the same time a guide for masters, a spokesman for the central administration, an index of best educational practice, and a repository of legitimate knowledge. To this extent it has an institutional autonomy that allows it to contribute to the autonomisation of the educational institution.

On the other hand, this conception of the institution is fundamentally opposed to functionalist determinism. The latter has, from Durkheim right up to Bourdieu, through Illich and the libertarian and marxist critiques, considered the institution in general, and educational institutions in particular, to be the instrument of social control in the service of the dominant ideology. According to this school of determinism, educational tools and media are used in the service of ideological domination.

Certainly, no one contests that textbooks communicate the dominant political and philosophical ideals of the day, but why should these ideas be taken up as they are? The use of textbooks is liable to lead to unforeseen translations, diversions or interpretations. The educational uses of textbooks have also undergone considerable evolutions: from a lesson book the textbook has become a reservoir of exercises and documents that the teacher selects as he wishes. Moreover, these changes (mainly through the increase in teachers' expertise) herald the crisis that today is affecting the use of the traditional textbook.

Firstly, the textbook is rivalled by the copier, the scanner and the Web; secondly, it is also rivalled by digital resources; thirdly, the transformation of educational practices brings into question the usefulness of all textbooks, both traditional and digital. And, more fundamentally still, the resulting modifications blur the traditional borders between the school and the non-school. It is therefore the very status of the educational institution and its operations that are at stake.

#### *Between legitimisation and efficiency*

The second principle which captures the relations between the institution and its digital tools and media is that of the correspondence between the two sides of the institution, i.e. the mental one and the material one (Godelier, 1986) which are: on one hand, the symbolic and ideological dimension (because all institutions depend on the implicit or explicit recognition of their usefulness and legitimacy); on the

other hand, its concrete dimension, translated and expressed through normative systems (rules, laws and rituals that fix the rules of the game), as well as by such other devices as tools and medias: they select, consolidate and replicate certain norms and habitudes, but they also disqualify them and they invent some and put others onto the agenda. As early as 1922, the sociologist Durkheim (1997/1922, 122) evokes this division:

“A school system of whatever type is formed of two sorts of elements. There is, on the one hand, a whole set of defined and stable arrangements, of established methods, in a word, of institutions; because there are educational institutions just as there are legal, religious or political institutions. But, at the same time, inside this machine, there are ideas that challenge the system and cause it to change.”

Tools and media are ambivalent: as institutions they contribute to the stabilisation of the educational institution, but they also challenge the institution and they force it to evolve. The textbook is more than a simple tool. Because of the values that it transmits, and through the instrumentation that it offers to the master and the pupil, it highlights the professionalism of both, it testifies to their specialisation and becomes one of the factors of their social recognition. But, while the textbook officializes and consolidates, it also introduces changes, encourages innovations and facilitates reforms.

All educational resources - and not just textbooks - have this dual function. Berger (1982, 101-102), referring to programmed teaching and audiovisual technology, describes educational technology as the “vector of concepts that had preceded it in the United States - rationality, [...] productivity, efficiency”. However, educational technology plays a critical role, because in France its promoters use it against “a system wherein education was not conceived as a productive technical system [but as a cultural system]”. This brings to the third principle: the digital revolution in education doesn't exist.

### ***Third principle: the digital revolution in education is a myth***

The theme of the digital revolution is promoted by three questionable propositions: first, the digitalisation is supposed to be already sufficiently widespread in the education system for a threshold to have been reached; secondly, its generalisation is said to be inevitable; third, the generalisation of digitalisation is said to threaten the very existence of the institution. I shall counter the three propositions by showing that there is and will be no digital revolution in education.

Contrary to what may be said, educational digitalisation is embryonic. Without going into statistical details, I will point to just three indicators.

First, although there has been a relatively fast increase in terms of computer equipment in schools in France, and even more so in other countries, we are still far from having generalised access to digital tools and media on an international scale.

For example, the figures for Europe from Eurydice 2004 show, as far as primary schools are concerned, that, in a small minority of countries, 80% of pupils have

access to a computer (France, Netherlands, Sweden, Norway, Iceland and the United Kingdom). On the other hand, other countries (Germany and Italy, no less) fluctuate between 60% and 80%, while in the majority of countries the percentage is below 30%. This is the case notably of most Eastern European countries.

The gaps are even greater, if one considers the percentage of pupils in the 4th year of primary education using computers at least once per week. Figures for “searching for information” divide countries into four groups: a first group of more than 40%: Sweden (43%), England (47,8%), Scotland (42,3%), etc.; a second group, between 20% and 30%: France, Greece, etc.; a third group, between 10% and 20%: Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Iceland, etc.; a fourth group, with less than 10%: Norway, Bulgaria, Hungary, etc. For other activities, word processing, for example, the figures and the order are pretty much identical. We are therefore far from seeing generalised access to digital resources.

Even in the best equipped countries, and for the most usual applications, the use of computers remains patchy. In France, the present ratio is, for example, of about 20 pupils for one computer in schools, 10 in colleges and 5 in high schools. We cannot speak therefore of incorporation of technology. Would one say that writing and reading had been generalized, if groups of 20, 10 or even 5 pupils had only one pen or one textbook between them? Some exceptional situations exist, for instance in the Bouches-du-Rhône, in France, since 2003, through “Ordina 13” close to 50 000 schoolchildren each have a portable computer. Even so, there remain problems, namely the lack of teacher preparation and the proliferation of uses which stray outside the initial projects.

Second indicator, digital publications for schools count for very little compared to traditional school publishing. Certainly, the situation is not frozen in time, and the recent association of digital publishers has greatly improved the visibility of the offer. Nevertheless, the offer remains fragmented, shared between the traditional publishers with digital activities, telecommunication operators, computer companies, gaming enterprises and audiovisual producers. One of the consequences of this fragmentation is that the digital sector occupies a marginal position in school publishing. In comparison to the revenues from textbooks in France (235,6 million euros per year and 316,6 million euros if one includes para-scholastic books), revenues for educational and cultural multimedia in France do not top 10 million euros.

Academic publishing provides another example: in France, in 2000, out of revenues of about 350 million euros, the share of electronic products and services came to 3.5% (i.e. 12 million euros, of which 10 are accounted for by purchases by libraries). The disparity in the respective importance of traditional publishing and digital publishing, gives an idea of the relative unimportance of digital educational resources.

Finally, the greatest difficulty results from the fact that, today, no digital publisher has yet come up with an economic model assuring the viability of its activity in the

long run: whether it is through the sale of products by unit, subscription services, payment by act or consumption, indirect financing by advertising, no formula has proved its worth.

Third indicator, the qualitative transformation of pedagogies has been even less successful. All studies, by many other colleagues as well as myself, show, that the use of digital tools and media more often reinforce existing practices than challenge them (Deceuninck *et al.* 2003; Møglin, 1998, 2005). One example among many others: in secondary teaching, in France, close to 1500 projects concern the new technologies of information and communication (60% in schools and 24% in colleges). However, a little under a half of these establishments (48,8%) have an Internet site, and only 26,3% use their site for their project.

It is true that these are only indicators. However, they confirm that the generalisation of digital tools and pedagogies will not be with us any time soon. Indeed the very scenario of such generalisation has little credibility.

#### *Unlikely generalisation*

Second counterproposal, which I base, notably, on analyses by Guri-Rosenblit (2003), extending the subject to all levels and technical means of teaching, whereas she herself only deals with tertiary level distance teaching: evidently the richest establishments can call on these new media most easily; if they don't use them as much as they could, since they lack neither staff nor documentary resources. There must be a simple reason: they don't really need them. On the other hand, establishments that would in fact really need new media are also the poorest and, therefore, the least able to equip themselves and to make use of these tools and media.

A similar paradox is true for students: self-teaching techniques (simulation, self - assessment, etc.) help those who already perform well. They are of less use to these than they would be to students who have neither the financial and technical means to use them.

Underprivileged establishments are also much less inclined to go in for digitalisation because, for equivalent results, digitalisation costs more than traditional resources and facilities. Secondly, digital tools and media can never be a complete substitute for traditional tools and media; in other words they force such establishments to find double funding. Thirdly, the access to digital tools and media requires staff, guardians, technical helpers and maintenance technicians: staff training and remuneration naturally increase budgets. Fourthly, whereas the function of traditional tools and medias are well-known, few people know what educational benefits can be derived from new tools and media. Certainly, the generalisation of data processing in society could encourage educators too to use computers. But many examples from history show that schools have never yielded to this type of argument, and that they take up a quite contrary and anachronistic position in relation to what is happening outside their doors.

For all these reasons one may question the thesis underlying the generalisation of digital education, and that of the de-institutionalisation of education.

*Untraceable de-institutionalisation*

It is true that a part of the libertarian movement identifies with this thesis. Illich (1971), in conformity with the ideas that he expounded from the 1960s onwards, expressed delight for example at the invention of telematics. In his opinion, it should encourage the development of “networks of knowledge” that will permit schools to be bypassed. He spoke of the “new established church”, where “the path of happiness is signalled by consumption indicators”. Internet, today, is often invested with the same hopes by opponents of the educational system in general and advocates of “home schooling”, in particular.

Taking, on the contrary, the defence of the educational institution, the altermondialist current criticizes international organisations, such as the OECD and the European community’s use of digital tools and media as a Trojan Horse, to break the monopoly and structures of the educational institution.

In fact, experience shows that, optimistic or pessimistic, these predictions have hardly any foundation. While the educational institution has, in fact, nothing to fear, as such, it has a lot to fear with regard to its own functioning. Indeed, it seems that the dominant educational model, for which the textbook has for a long time been the preferred vector for primary and secondary teaching, is exploding, decomposing or running out of steam. Another model, for which digitalisation could be the vector, is attempting to take its place (but has as yet been unable to do so). What is the model?

## **Industrial transformations of the educational institution**

The use of digital tools and media must be interpreted as the reason for transformations of the educational institution, not the consequence. What is at stake is the match between new tools and media and a new way of working. More precisely, the changes in this fit, at a time when the industrial paradigm that structured the educational institution in the days of the textbook is losing its vital spark.

The question is how to convert the concepts of school work and the educational institution into the educational and organisational models required to lift the digital divide. In other words, the question concerns a new match, whose cornerstone might henceforth be digital tools and media. However, as I would also like to try to show, the coherence and viability of this mission remain as problematic as ever.

*From industrialisation in training to the industrialisation of training*

I will start from the following observation: the birth of textbooks, as cultural goods and products of the newborn publishing industry, as well as the generalisation of their use, during the 19th century, reflect the process which took over the educational institution. The process is two-fold. The first industrialisation process

concerns these industrial products: textbooks, notebooks and blackboards (industrialisation in training). The second industrialisation process concerns methods of teaching and organisation: the adoption of an industrial pedagogy and industrial rules of administration (industrialisation of training).

The manner whereby through textbooks the fit is achieved between the tool and the system is illustrated well by an aspect that I evoked briefly a little earlier, when I noted the coincidence between the birth of the textbook and the birth of the educational institution. I now come back to this aspect to indicate that at the moment of the appearance of the textbook (or shortly after), one also witnesses the adoption of an educational model of an industrial nature and, at another level, the conversion of school administrations to certain methods inspired more or less by those of industry.

Why do policy makers, between 1830 and 1850, adopt collective and simultaneous teaching, which, hitherto had only been practised in colleges, monastery schools and Protestant academies? Why do they officially prefer this teaching to the two educational models with which it is in competition: individual teaching, frequently practised in small schools, and mutual teaching, a recent import from Britain, but supported by a very active lobby?

First, individual teaching is practised in village schools, but is inspired, in fact, by the preceptor method: in turns, every pupil submits his/her work to the master; in the interval he/she is left to himself/herself, alone or in a small group. Mutual teaching also known as “school without masters” (Duveau, 1957, 47) or “co-operative teaching” is already, at the time, considered to be “industrial”: the master gives orders that are passed on by the older pupils, who transmit them to the pupils they are responsible for. Thus a single teacher addresses several hundreds of pupils at a time.

Certainly, collective and simultaneous teaching is better adapted to more complex training rather than individual teaching. Certainly, it also meets the requirements of conservatives who don't wish training to be dispensed extensively, as would be the case with mutual teaching. But if simultaneous and collective teaching wins out, it is maybe especially because it depends on the textbook. The textbook, indeed, offers to the master the possibility of combining, in class, collective work and individual work, as well as class work and home work.

How is the choice of this semi- industrial pedagogy perceived, at the time and later? The reaction of the philosopher Alain (1998/1932, 282), the figurehead of the school movement under the 3<sup>rd</sup> Republic is interesting in this respect. He comments on the difference between “school work”, serious and rigorous, according to him, and play, by which some pedagogues try abusively to motivate pupils:

“There is a marked opposition between work and play. In work there is an economy of effort and concern for the result (Taylorism). Play is the opposite: it requires prodigious effort, and has no concern for the result.”



Thus, in 1932, for the intellectual elite that Alain represents, with no industrial leanings, Taylorism appears to be the essence of teaching, that by which it is distinguished from its opposite: fun and entertainment.

Thirty years later, Illich (1971, 74-75) sees things completely differently. He depicts school as a factory:

“School sells curriculum, a bundle of goods made according to the same process and having the same structure as other merchandise. Curriculum production for most schools begins with allegedly scientific research, on whose basis educational engineers predict future demand and tools for the assembly line, within the limits set by budgets and taboos. The distributor-teacher delivers the finished product to the consumer pupil, whose reactions are carefully studied and charted to provide research data for the preparation of the next model [...] The new world church, is the knowledge industry.”

There is probably some exaggeration in this way of comparing the working of the school to that of the factory. What is expressed, however, from Alain to Illich, and which deserves to be heard is the recognition of the industrial element in the educational institution: between the mutual model, which is too industrialized, and individual teaching, which is too artisanal, the model of simultaneous and collective teaching arrives at a compromise by which the tool and the system reinforce each other mutually. The generalization of textbook, produced and reproduced industrially, are based on a pedagogy and an administration which are semi industrial and that, require the presence of the textbook, industrial product, in return. Industrialization in training goes along with industrialization of training.

I should at once specify what I mean by “industrialization of training”:

1. training is industrialized when it calls on technical resources to partially or completely replace human manpower and work time;
2. it needs capital and adopts management organization methods (such as collective and simultaneous teaching) to encourage the optimal (as large as possible) use of these technical resources;
3. it encourages a mentality which aims to bring together all human and technical means, to the output of the teaching, from a productivist perspective.

As one may see, the traditional textbook is the cornerstone of the first industrialization of teaching.

### ***The textbook, link between the three “universes” of the institution***

The textbook is also the link between the industrial universe and the other universes of the educational institution. The educational institution cannot be reduced to its industrial dimension. The sociologist Derouet (1990) shows that it is a “composite” enterprise, and that, beside the industrial universe (which trains producers and consumers industrially in the service of industry), two other “universes” are also

represented: the civic universe (that trains citizens in the service of the nation), and the domestic universe (that trains children to become adults). The textbook occupies a central place in facilitating the coexistence of these three universes: the industrial tool of mechanized training, founded on the repetition and the standardization of exercises; the spokesman of the collective body (the Nation, the Republic, the Society); and the defender of domestic morals (the love that one owes to one's teacher is, for example, of the same nature as that one owes to one's parents).

However, the overturning of the school experience, today, involves the dissociation of these three universes and it brings into question, at one stroke, the role of link played hitherto, by the textbook. No matter that the textbook has little to do with this shake-up. This shake-up affects it directly through the contestation of the school culture, linked to the disqualification of its two traditional sources of legitimacy, knowledge for itself and liberating knowledge (Lyotard, 1979), through the undermining of the institution and its actors, obliged permanently to negotiate their place and their status, in the context of the loss of the monopoly of schooling and competition through parallel circuits of socialization, through the disengagement of the state and, in France, the "devolution of educational policy", in the terms of Charlot (1994), in favour of local and transnational structures, whose influence is perceived as a threat to the public service, and through the generalization of control and assessment practices, encouraging a utilitarian and consumerist climate, which is incompatible with the ideals of disinterestedness and curiosity.

Other factors that concern the textbook more directly include its rigidity and its lack of interactivity, its standardizing effects, in contrast to the autonomisation of teachers, its incompatibility with constructivist pedagogies and, worse still, its inability to accept all the demands that are made of it, its price, which has caused more and more reaction, in the United States notably, where the average cost of textbooks has increased four times faster than the rate of inflation in the last twenty years.

Certainly, for the moment revenues of the school publishing houses have not been affected greatly by this situation. The traditional market for textbooks is sufficiently strong and the financial stakes are sufficiently great for traditional publishers to make sure of that, notably by proposing hybrid products "paper" and "on line", to fend off the digital competition. However, certain disaffection from the traditional textbook can be observed, highlighted by several studies.

Is it the case that pushed by digital technology that an informational reindustrialisation of education is taking place? This is the question underlying my last point.

### ***New industrial paradigm?***

My aim is therefore to finish by identifying three major tendencies within the process of "informationalisation" of education (i.e. of its reindustrialisation through its digitization).

It is necessary to specify beforehand that these tendencies are not to be found everywhere. Indeed, their presence and effects depend on how the shake-up and transformations of the school experience affect each of the sectors and levels concerned. They vary therefore according to whether they occur within the context of primary teaching, middle school, high school, university, continuing education or popular education.

There is no move at present to contest the efficiency or utility of primary school teaching. But questions as to the educational objectives of incorporating digital resources are nevertheless being posed. The secondary level (middle and high school) is going through a serious crisis. This crisis is perceived more by teachers than the general public, which continues to trust in education. Teachers experience the crisis through the impression of belonging to a profession which has been “de-qualified”. If its immediate use is not in any doubt, tertiary education is in a deep crisis of identity. It has led to the dissociation of its components (research/training, academic training/professional training, etc.) and by major paralysis. Threatened less directly, continuing education and popular education have nevertheless been destabilized by the initial weakness of what Dubet (2002) calls their “institutional program”. This fragility results notably in the blurring of the definition of the profession of trainer and of the final purpose of this type of training.

Making allowances for their respective contexts, the three tendencies that I would like to look at are the following:

1. formulation of an educational project focused on the struggle against “illectronacy”;
2. hybridization of traditional teaching and on line activities and distance learning;
3. setting up of integrated systems of management combining functions and activities which were previously separate.

*An educational project to combat “illectronacy”?*

The first tendency concerns primary and middle school teaching, as well as some sectors of popular education. But one also sees evidence for it in the universities and in continuing education. Among others, the Honorary Senator Sérusclat (1999, 112) has described this tendency, pointing out that, just as the modern education system was constructed in the 19th century around the book and literacy, in the same way today's education must be constructed around the computer.

By teaching informational expertise, the school system would reconnect therefore with its original purpose. Simply put, the struggle against the illiteracy would be extended henceforth to the struggle against “illectronacy”. Schools would also encourage the spread of what Miège (2004) calls “communicational norms of action”.

The value of such a project is not in doubt: extending the domain of school to the necessary technical and intellectual expertise through use of the Internet and other information and communication systems, for research, work and entertainment, is, indeed, the essential condition for an intelligent use of digital resources. It is easy to accept the idea that the struggle against “illectronacy” is indeed one of the keys to culture and knowledge. Many examples show also that the presence of digital tools and media can help to reform and resocialise teenagers or adults who have dropped out of school and traditional education.

However, focussing significantly on the struggle against “illectronacy” has at least two risks for the educational system.

The first concerns the potentially counterproductive effects of generalizing the use of digital tools and media in the classroom. Of course, more and more frequently, teachers ask their pupils to surf the Web to collect information, or write texts on word processors. This can only be done however if the equipment and technical assistance is available in the establishment. But, as there is rarely sufficient equipment and technical assistance (the numbers quoted indicate this clearly), the level of home equipment and the presence of help at home play a role in determining the success or failure of the task.

However, in France, according to figures from the Médiamétrie survey 2005, less than 50% of homes are equipped with a computer (about 12 million) and less than 35% (8 700 000) have access to Internet. Besides of these, three quarters only are connected at high speed. This is why, under the pretext of reducing social and cultural inequalities, it may be that schools involuntarily contributes, on the contrary, to reinforcing inequalities.

The second risk results from the fact that, too often, training with digital tools and media amounts to instrumental training. This was not at all the case of schools’ literacy mission in the 19th century. At the time, teaching reading and writing frequently appeared to belong to a political vision and to have a progressive and emancipating goal. Today, on the other hand, it is difficult to identify the political mission and the social perspective of programs to combat “illectronacy”.

This is equally true for the educational project. Should one be indignant at the deviation from or even abandonment of educational objectives, when pupils use the digital resources of the establishment for activities which have nothing to do with their official objectives (piracy, consulting illicit sites, etc.)? Or, is the acquired expertise sufficiently useful for pupils, even though they do not correspond to any school project that the institution should tolerate them, and possibly even recognize them and value them?

In this important debate, the vast majority of teachers tend to favour the first answer, but no precise information is available. For example, it would be useful to know if pupils who use digital tools in this way, in spite of the institution, benefit positively in their academic careers.

The same problems are posed, just as pertinently, in the domain of popular education, where some structures have been reduced to the simple provision of services: they may simply offer public access to the Internet; in these cases all educational purpose has been abandoned. The question, at this stage, therefore concerns the existence and the educational range of values and societal projects underlying digitization of educational programs.

#### *Hybridization of educational practice*

The second tendency is less spectacular. For the reasons indicated at the start, “cyber-training” is indeed, and will long remain, the invention of technocrats. On the other hand, one expects a modest, but meaningful increase in the incorporation of online activity in traditional teaching and training. This integration occurs at all levels, but it is perhaps in universities that it takes its most original form.

Applications that, not so long ago, would have been worthy of science-fiction, seem less extraordinary today: the use of video conferencing networks, for multi-site courses, the use of collaborative software to facilitate the work of students in common and at distance, the generalization of access to the Web and scientific databases, the facility to consult databases in real time during the course, the putting on line of hundreds, sometimes of thousands, of hours of courses and exercises, the presence of self-study rooms, the multiplication of digital campuses are all important transformations of the academic landscape.

There probably is no deterministic relation between the technology and pedagogy. One may suppose however that these transformations appear in the context of a more fundamental change in how people teach and learn. These changes lead to less professorial pedagogy, with more work focussed on concrete tasks with more student autonomy. These modifications have been made necessary by the growing diversification and heterogeneity of the student body. These mutations also enable students to access educational and administrative resources wherever they may be, and even when they are on the move.

Behind these changes, we may observe several phenomena of major importance. Among others: doubts about the unity of place and time which traditionally provided a certain monopoly for the establishment, its administration and its educational structure; the development, hesitant but increasingly common in Europe of the credit system “European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System”; the increased use of modular structures in curricula and the possibility offered (in principle) to students to plan an academic career via several establishments, possibly in different countries (even though the reality is somewhat different in practice); modularity that may go so far as offering “customized” teaching.

Certainly, it would be wrong to exaggerate the impact of all this. However, these moves are already discernible, and their development is facilitated by the use of digital media. That is why it is urgent to consider the risks and limitations of this tendency. Here are three, more or less at random, from my own research.

First, several studies show that teaching which was not designed to be modular, but put on line nevertheless, are very difficult for students or teachers to use. The banking “vision” that underpins a number of these initiatives negates much of their educational relevance.

Secondly, the “googlelisation” of teaching and research leads to students adopting doubtful and inefficient practices: they produce decontextualised information which is fragmentary and with no larger perspective. The problem is that Google is becoming the primary mediator of knowledge for students.

Thirdly, the “open” market style of presenting education, wherein students as customers are supposed to define their own academic career path is not viable (technically), or acceptable (pedagogically). More than ever before mediators are necessary, as “brokers of information”.

*Administrative temptation: the integrated system*

The third tendency concerns the setting up, essentially in secondary and tertiary teaching establishments as well as in certain sectors of continuing education, of integrated management structures. These structures are integrated because they allow the establishment or every member of the educational community to access, in a common digital space, all possible functions: educational, administrative, financial, documentary, communicational, etc. The implantation of educational platforms (since the mid 1990s), digital campuses (since the end of the 1990s), digital satchels (since 2000) and digital work spaces (since 2002) all speak to this desire to put onto the network activities and functions that had previously been separate.

This third tendency is not therefore incompatible with the first two and may even complement them. This has been suggested by Kaplan and Pouts-Lajus (2004, 15): they explain that the virtual spaces offered to teachers and learners are the missing link between the technical offer and its users. According to them, users need their different computer tools to be bundled, organized and harmonized in “a single access point for the set of tools, content and digital services connected to [their] activity”.

So, for example, digital work spaces provide access simultaneously to practical school services (bulletins, schedules, notebooks), to educational services, to documentary services (including some personal spaces, with devices for automatic ordering of documents) and to information services, including forums, messenger services and shared spaces for documents. Quite apart from teachers and pupils, a large number of actors are connected to these virtual spaces, such as librarian-documentalists, administrators, parents, local authorities, representatives of the general public and economic actors.

Even though these integrated systems have only just started to take off, it is striking that their originality doesn't come from the novelty of the functions proposed (most already existed before digital work spaces). What is new, however, is the bundling

of these functions in one single space. Indeed, the informational reorganization of school life is to be performed, among others, by: the unbundling and the de-hierarchisation of functions (which means the educational function losing its primacy) and the creation of an educational community, within which teachers are but one component among others; the establishment of procedures for assessment and follow-up, almost in real time; flexible management and an almost industrial use of resources (educational, logistics, etc.) and of flows (students).

Rather than taking stock of achievements that are at present too embryonic, I will point to three obstacles which could prove to be stumbling blocks.

First, the development of the new management systems stems from the wishes of the ministries, which, is in line with the politics of decentralization and regionalisation of the education system in France. On the other hand, actors at the grassroots have expressed little or no demand for it (Chaptal, 2003).

Secondly, in France as abroad, the digital work spaces tend to reinforce the productivist orientation of education. In the words of the experts quoted above, Kaplan and Pouts-Lajus (2004, p.37), the aims of projects relate explicitly to “the modernization of educational practices and the improvement of global performances in the education system”. The compromise between the three universes (industrial, civic and domestic), that make up the education sphere could be threatened by the first.

Third, it is surprising to see such integrated systems develop in establishments, whereas, in industry, the influence of “Knowledge Management” and large systems is tending to be abandoned.

## **Conclusion**

Three points will sum up my argument and underline its possible interest.

First, I hope to have shown that it is not true that digital resources are replacing or will replace the traditional textbook. On the other hand, it is true that an educational paradigm change is in progress and that it is leading to contention as to the central role of the traditional textbook. However, nothing suggests that digital resources are going to occupy this central role.

Secondly, the situation is still fluid and this is also because the digitization of certain educational resources doesn't imply an automatic reinforcement of the educational institution. On the contrary, the use of certain information and communication devices, such as the Web and search engines, encourages the descolarisation of school. On the other hand, however, the appeal of the theme of “lifelong education” encourages a process of schooling of society.

Third, the fact that the die has not been cast revives this old principle: the greater society's demand for education, the more difficulty the school system has to preserve its monopoly.

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**What do we believe are the issues  
with text-based and other learning materials?  
Are we caught in the web or lost in the textbook?**

Alan Peacock and Ailie Cleghorn

*From the Eskimos of the past...who were very intelligent, who had good perception, who had good memory; this has been going on for a long time among the Eskimo, from our ancestors. And today, they are like our books, those kinds of people. The ones very intelligent, the ones with good memories, the ones who are very perceptive, because they are like books to the Eskimos; you can hunt whales, you can hunt today because of this. (Attungana, 1986, 18-20)*

This quote from an Inuit living in northern Canada raises these questions: What is a text? Whose text? Whose knowledge? We begin with this because we are going to ask you to step back and examine some of our taken-for-granted beliefs about texts, about who they serve, about how they help young people to learn, about what is learned indirectly from them.

The theme of this year's conference – *caught in the web or lost in the textbook* – suggests an *either-or* dichotomy, with a hint that there may be no way out. Most of us in the Western world feel inextricably caught in the web, while many in the still developing countries (the majority world) are lost and confused by the textbook, if they have one at all. In this presentation we hope to throw some light on the latter situation in particular, focusing on why certain problems persist and what some ways out might be. In doing so, our remarks will be developed from the contributions to our book, *Missing the Meaning*, as well as from other sources.

Textbooks and other materials are undeniably important for learners as well as for teachers, but a word of caution is needed if we are to look to them for too many solutions to educational problems. For instance, we often hear, 'if only' there were better resources (textbooks, writing materials) especially in developing country classrooms, then the quality of instruction would improve, more young people would stay in school, the aims of Education for All (Dakar 2000) would be realized, and literacy rates would approach 100% worldwide. The hypothetical equation looks something like this: Education (with plentiful text materials)  $\Rightarrow$  development  $\Rightarrow$  progress  $\Rightarrow$  equality of educational opportunity  $\Rightarrow$  peace  $\Rightarrow$  a kind of salvation. So the equation comes down to the belief (or is it a myth?), that if there were more and better textbooks, all sorts of problems would go away. To digress a bit further, this sounds like the 'literacy myth' as described by Harvey Graff (1979), David Olson (1990), Brian Street (2001) and others: If everyone were literate, crime rates would fall, poverty would cease to exist, men and women would be empowered, and the world's problems would go away. If only it were so.

## Links to the main conference topics

Let us take a brief look at the main topics of this conference as they appear on the conference website, for they point to some of the questions that have guided our joint research over the last 10 or so years on the use (and abuse) of text materials in the teaching of primary science. The questions they raise are linked to the following section on theoretical perspectives on schooling and text materials.

1. Changing identities in a global world
  - Whose identity are we talking about?
  - How is the global world conceived?
  - How should diversity (ethnic, social, gender, other) be addressed in text materials?
2. Changes in the learning environment
  - In what ways and where are learning environments changing?
  - How can we explore and take advantage of the ‘new’ computerized and multi-modal (visual, oral) forms of text?
  - What is happening to young people’s reading, writing and listening skills?
  - What about visual forms of literacy? Do we teach that directly?
3. Improvement of textbooks
  - How may we better evaluate, select and market text materials in our efforts to counter the constraints on improvement?
  - Can we generalize about improving textbooks and educational media, even in a globalizing world?
  - What about the misuse and under-use of much existing text material?
4. Design
  - How can text materials be designed for the subject disciplines so that there are better links with the tenets of sustainable development – economic, social, political, and environmental?
  - Textbooks for whom, for what subject, written by whom and for what purpose?

## Theoretical perspectives on the world of schooling and text materials

Wolff-Michael Roth (2004) takes a *critical perspective* when he speaks about children and their teachers not in deficit terms, but as ‘navigating worlds’, indicating one way in which a globalised world may be conceived.

*These worlds are texts.... The question ...is not how we can fix children, texts or teachers, but how we can support the efforts of human beings in expanding their worlds so that they have greater room for manoeuvring, more possibilities for action, and ever-expanding opportunities for continuously becoming whatever they choose to be. (p 264)*

*What we need is a better world, and students and teachers who use and produce language and texts ought to be an integral part of making and remaking the world that we really want. (p. 265)*

Elizabeth McEneaney (2004) also takes a critical view in noting the manifest and latent function of *official* learning materials.

*Officially sanctioned learning materials...serve as the authoritative and central source of expertise in a classroom (as in the "teacher-proof" curriculum), or they may be intended as a complement to expertise that already resides ... in the teacher or in the students or both. (p. 14)*

*...the learning materials widely used in schools much more often than not have served to socialize children into starkly unequal social hierarchies.... For most of the twentieth century in European and North American mass education systems...students learned from approved curricular materials that people of colour as well as white women had no serious place in the world of science. (p. 14)*

Janet Donin (2004) draws on the theory of *situated cognition*, reminding us that the social and cultural context of teaching and learning is critical to the way we think about and use text materials.

*While written texts or transcriptions of oral texts might exist outside of a particular context, how they are processed is definitely situation-dependent.... Whether or not a text is meaningful or deficient will depend on the nature of the activities in which it is embedded and on the characteristics of the actors in the situation. (p. 44)*

In other words, the learning environment- what we will later call the teacher-learner-text (T-L-T) relationship - has to be understood if text is to be developed and used effectively.

A *sociolinguistic perspective* adds to our understanding of the complex dilemmas involved in the development of text materials that are accessible to learners whose main (home) language is different than the school's instructional language. Remember, about 700 million of the world's children are learning via English – as their second language (Crystal, 1997). This situation is exacerbated when little or no attention is given at school to the principles of second language teaching and learning, a situation that is common in some still developing countries where teacher education may be minimal and economic conditions prevent the training and hiring of language specialists. In a search for ways to address the difficulties (such as cognitive load) that second language learners have, Marissa Rollnick (2004) asks the following question with particular reference to science:

*does oversimplification of science texts exclude learners from further participation in the study of science or does it open doors? (p. 105)*

Here we might also ask, what does it mean to oversimplify? Since all subjects involve learning the discourse of the field, then surely all learners would be helped if text developers paid close attention to the distinction between science (academic) discourse and everyday discourse, by, for example, defining ‘ordinary’ English words like *solution*, *dilute*, *dissolve*.

In Rollnick’s work we see threads to the theory of situated cognition as well as to the critical perspective. Drawing from the work of Gee (1996), Young (1971) and others she notes:

*Use of language is embodied in contexts that carry with them social mores and ways in which language is used. (p. 107)*

*misguided authors or teachers particularly in mathematics and science ...feel that the language in such books should be difficult for them to preserve their status of custodians of a difficult subject. This allows them to attract only the upper end of the ability spectrum. (p.117)*

At the same time, Macdonald (1990) has shown that (non-specialist) teachers’ own attempts at simplifying texts often introduce ambiguities and opaqueness, rather than removing these.

### **Change in learning environments and text design**

Murphy and Holleran (2004) address the topic of change in learning environments. They ask if virtual environments lead to virtual learning. Reminding us of the myths mentioned earlier (the text resources myth, the literacy myth) they observe that:

*...many teachers, parents, administrators, and politicians believe that computers and virtual environments will solve what ails American schools. (p. 135)*

These authors also remind us that it was Dewey, writing in 1913, who warned of the dangers of *near* experiences; actual experience was for Dewey preferable to *reading* about objects and knowledge.

Murphy and Holleran have explored how and what students learn when exposed to different types of text. In a carefully controlled study they found no difference in achievement between students exposed to the same content in a conventional textbook and a computerized version of the same material. They concluded that the same (traditional) principles apply to both modes of learning, including:

- Subject matter should be presented in line with the desired outcome – application of a principle, change in attitude, development of a skill.
- Subject matter must be in accord with students’ development, prior experience, prior knowledge.

In contrast to the suggestions of Murphy and Holleran, however, Gunter Kress (2003) argues that new theories of meaning are needed to understand new textual forms and new forms of literacy. He speaks of *synaesthesia*, the ability to represent

meanings through the senses, an ability that has been suppressed with the dominance of written language in the Western world. Kress advocates moving away from conventional theories that focus on text use and critique towards theories that allow for re-conceptualising meaning. For instance, Kress' notion of *design* aims at transforming resources, such as curricula, from tools of cultural reproduction to curricula purposely designed to express the interests of individuals, thereby providing them with an opportunity for changing their social futures (p. 161). In this we see a hint of Roth's position that in this global world, solutions might well be found in the local.

Kress further maintains that audio, visual and gestural modes of representation are displacing the central position of written language (i.e. textbooks). For Kress, the ability of new textual forms to be multi-modal and to incorporate several modes of communication is not merely beneficial but necessary to meet the literacy needs of multicultural societies (p. 181). He notes that gesture is often mistakenly considered to be a mere translation of spoken language, when in fact the extensive use of body positioning, gestures, facial expressions and eye movement provides additional, perhaps subconscious, meaning. Is Kress thus suggesting that we have gone (or should go) full circle, back to modes of oral communication, to oral texts?

The point of all this may be evident in the following excerpt from a lesson on soil erosion taught in a grade 8 class in a rural school in Western Kenya. There were no desks, chairs, chalkboard, textbooks or writing materials. The lesson was taught by a young woman, a member of the local community, who was in 'wait training' – untrained, and waiting for a space in teachers college. Elsewhere (Cleghorn, 2003) I have characterized this lesson as an example of an 'alternative text', but it might be more accurate to indicate that it fits with Kress' vision of an oral/gestural/visual text.

This is a view of the classroom where the lesson took place.



This was the view from the classroom.

The lesson was taught mainly in Luo, the local language, with code-switching back and forth to English. Words that appear in bold italics were spoken in English. Note that many of the words spoken in English are the key terms and phrases that often appear on the all-English multiple choice, end of primary examinations (another text issue).

T: If there is nowhere where we can **grow our crops** there is nothing we can eat. **And we need what?** We need food. If there is no food can we be alive?

SS: (chorus) Nooooo!

Later.....

T: ....Rain is also like that. When it is raining **pururu** (Swahili for heavily), it carries **humus**, it carries **clay** and it carries **sand**. So what are we remaining with?

SS: Subsoil

T: Subsoil which is not good to our plants.

Later.....

T: ... When it is raining what happens?

S: Water runs off.

T: Water runs. Have you observed that water? (**gesturing to the outside**) What does it carry?

SS: **Soil**

T: The sand which it is carrying, where did it come from?

S: It has come from up.

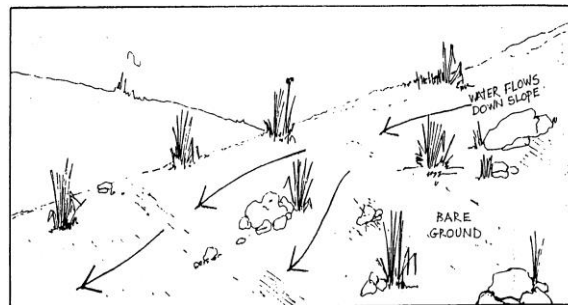
T: Which means when it is raining water runs on the ground and carries the topsoil.

**T:** This is what shows us what soil erosion is. **Erosion is when the rain or the wind carries the soil.** When water takes our soil away, wind takes our soil away. That is soil erosion. **Ok now**, why do you think that soil erosion takes place?...

Later, summing up....

T: Where the grass has got finished and the place has remained with only soil, we call it **bare land** (**again gesturing to the eroded field outside the classroom**).

Although perhaps not a fair comparison, the following illustration from a grade 8 environmental science book used in Zimbabwe begs the question: given the local knowledge that the students and teacher had of soil erosion and the teacher's use of code switching and gestures, would such a written text have improved on this lesson? What would the text have added? Could it possibly have been enough on its own?



**Figure 1.** Textbook illustration of soil erosion

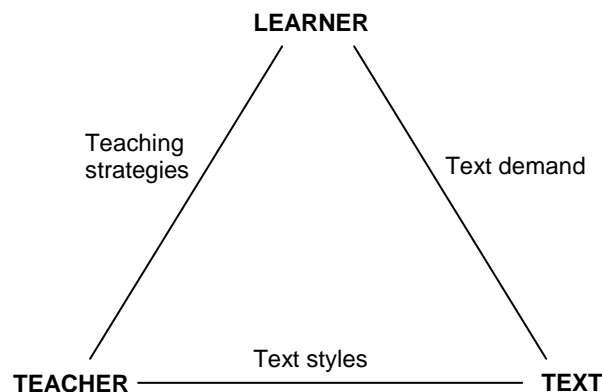


## Elementary science text materials

We now need to look at specific examples of text, to put flesh on the above theoretical skeletons. Here we have taken examples from the teaching of elementary science, as this provides an excellent lens for illuminating some of the more general problems relating to the design, content and classroom use of text materials. We first need to consider what teachers are trying to do when they teach science to younger children, and the potential role of text within this.

One can ask: What are such pupil texts (rather than teachers' books) for? Firstly, they are for telling; providing facts, explaining concepts, giving instructions. Secondly, they are for asking; prompting enquiry, setting problems, requiring data analysis, predictions, analysis, or conclusions. Third, they are for coaching; mediating, revising, practice testing, working examples. Finally, they can be for motivating; getting children excited about something they might then experience first-hand.

Science teaching embodies the teaching of facts and concepts, often prescribed by a national curriculum; it increasingly demands that learners are engaged in 'hands-on' enquiry and practical investigation, both inside and outside the classroom; and it is increasingly assessed using standard tests, so that teaching also concentrates on revision and practice testing. Text material has been developed over many years to support all these functions, in a wide range of forms, including teachers' guides, pupil workbooks, revision and test books, worksheets, games, practical kits, comic books and newspapers, video, CD-ROM and on-line software. The way in which these are used in the classroom depends crucially, however, on the nature of the learning environment created by the teacher. We have characterised this in terms of the Teacher-Learner-Text triangle (figure 2).



**Figure 2.** The T-L-T Triangle

The T-L-T triangle illustrates the three key relationships in a classroom, and the aspect of text use that each implies. For example, the Teacher-Text relationship is governed by the teacher's knowledge of different text styles, their availability, and the consequent choices it is possible to make. The Learner-Text relationship, on the other hand, is dominated by the 'match' between the demands made by a text and the capacity of the learner to manage this level of demand.

The major shift in the learning environment for elementary science in recent years has been in the Teacher-Learner dimension, i.e. that of teaching strategies. There has been a global move towards less dependence on teachers using a text to 'tell' students, and a concomitant expectation that children will engage in practical group enquiry, often supported by social constructivist theories of learning (e.g. Driver, Steff & Gayle etc). At the same time, web-based material and ICT facilities in classrooms have given pupils themselves (in theory, if not in practice) access to a huge range of potentially useful science text. Hence the teacher's 'knowledge-based' text can now be potentially replaced by the pupil's activity-based text- what we will call 'pupils' books'- or by on-line interactive materials. The main concern in our research has been the ways in which this shift has proved successful, and where it has hit problems: for example, if the texts pupils encounter are not matched to their needs, the Learner-Text relationship may break down. Ironically, if one browses the library of a UK primary school, the science shelves are still likely to be dominated by 'telling' texts; a high street bookshop's shelves will be dominated by 'coaching' texts; whilst the shelves of teacher trainers, trainees and advisers will emphasise 'asking' texts.

To consider this 'trilemma', we therefore need to examine what research has to say about the difficulties children experience with pupils' 'text books' in their various forms. The difficulties are many, resulting in an excessive demand or cognitive load for the learner. This is due to problems that in nature are:

- *Conceptual*, affecting access to the meaning of abstract science ideas
- *Linguistic*, affecting understanding of vocabulary, terminology, complex sentences
- *Visual*, requiring visual literacy skills to de-code photographs, diagrams, symbols, charts or icons
- *Format/design*, requiring familiarity with new forms of layout and associated verbal-visual links
- *Message*, understanding whose 'voice' is speaking.

Thus whilst language difficulty or 'readability' of text has been most often focused on in the past, we have identified the above five main dimensions of science texts that can cause difficulty for learners. Collectively, they contribute to the Cognitive Demand of the text material in question (Sweller, 1994; Leahy *et al.*, 2004). The conceptual difficulty of a piece of science text depends on the number and nature of concepts introduced in a given section; is there more than one? Are they abstract concepts? Linguistic difficulty is too complex to discuss fully here, but in science text, it is likely to be increased by such things as new vocabulary, technical

terminology and complexity of sentences. For example, Macdonald (1990) demonstrated how African learners in their fourth year in school not only had to begin learning in English instead of vernacular, but also were confronted with science books in which up to 60% of vocabulary had not appeared in the English scheme they had been using in the previous three years.

Visual literacy has been much overlooked in textbook research until recently, yet in science materials it can play a key part in determining accessibility. We have shown (Peacock, 1995; Gates, 2004) how the common assumption that visuals aid understanding of written text is often not the case, and can often lead to misconceptions. Symbols, scale, cross-sectional diagrams and superfluity may also be important distractors; for example, we have identified at least ten different uses for arrows in elementary science text, the use of which is rarely explained to readers.

All of these become particularly important in relation to the format or design of the page layout in materials for children; for example, the illustration shows how the page layout may not follow sequentially from top to bottom as with narrative text; and the link between visuals and text may not be clearly made. However, some formats (such as comic book format) have been shown to create few problems even for children learning in a second language, since they are already familiar with comics from outside the science classroom (Peacock, 1994). Yet even in the most prestigious texts, things can go badly wrong, as the examples indicate. These may originate from the fact that the illustrators used are not themselves scientists; they may also find their way to publication through weaknesses in proof-reading. Either way, it implies the need for less fragmentation of the process by which texts are commissioned, written, illustrated, designed, printed and published. At the same time, and perhaps as a consequence of the above, some writers of web-based materials have carried out their own research into what maximises children's learning on screen, and have developed materials accordingly.

The 'message' in a text is very dependent on whose 'voice' seems to be speaking. If for example, the pupil's text gives an instruction (*'Take a walk outside your classroom...write down the names of 10 animals that you see moving...'*) a pupil may see this as being in conflict with the voice of his or her teacher. Equally, texts that imply a particular cultural stance can be out of step with the ethos of the classroom, and could therefore induce counter-productive attitudes in some if not all learners.

Each of these dimensions makes a cognitive demand on the learner, adding up to a cognitive load that may make it difficult for a child to process the text. Such texts have been called 'inconsiderate'; the first example above is such a text, as it makes high demands in all five dimensions. However, as we have indicated, learning from text is situated and highly context dependent, therefore the demand is determined not only by the text but by the learners and their learning environment; a text may be accessible to one group but not to another. 'Considerate' text attempts to minimise some or all of the demands, to make it more likely that learners can process it independently, as in the example from Zimbabwe.

## Culture and text difference

Text materials differ from one cultural context to another. They differ according to such matters as: precedent (things are done a certain way because they have always been that way; international pressures (results on international test of achievements such as the TIMMS); the need for approval (political messages); commercial pressures, and the extent to which teachers are actually involved in their production.

Table 1 shows how Japanese and American elementary science textbooks differ.

**Table 1:** Comparison of elementary science textbooks from USA and Japan

<i>Mean of 2 examples from each country</i>	USA	Japan
Size	2kg, 500 pages	0.4kg, 100 pages
Content	Wide ranging	10 topics only
<i>Electricity unit:</i>		
Pages	18	14
Sentences	205	14
Activities	4	4
Photos	23	24
Illustrations	7	20

This comparison of elementary science textbooks from USA and Japan gives us an illustration of how and why texts differ. The table (Lewis, 2004) indicates that textbooks from the USA are considerably larger, have more topics, more verbal text, the same amount of photographs, but fewer illustrations. Lewis explains this in terms of five main differences, such as the impact of precedent; national and international pressures resulting from their relative positions in IEA and TIMSS surveys; the need for a broad consensus about content (e.g. across all the states in the US); commercial pressures within US publishing (Japanese text is published by the ministry of education), and teacher involvement in textbook development, which is greater in Japan. The outcome is that the Japanese text is focused on pupils doing science, using illustrations/information to obtain information with which they can solve science problems; whereas the US texts are more concerned to provide comprehensive coverage of facts and concepts that may be tested, as well as too look attractive (which explains the high proportion of what the Japanese might consider 'superfluous' photographs).

In the same way, for example, elementary science materials in Anglophone Africa have been strongly influenced by curriculum projects such as the African Primary Science Programme (APSP) in the 1970s, which was heavily UK/US dominated; South Africa has a wide range of materials because of the heavy involvement of NGOs supporting (black) education prior to the end of apartheid; whilst in Brunei Darussalam they have to show how each item relates to the Surahs of the Qu'ran. The impact of this is likely to be that within any cultural context, the room for

manoeuvre in terms of change in text design is probably limited to a greater or lesser extent at any given time, for the major publishing players.

### **Web design of elementary science materials**

Web design however is global and therefore the constraints may be quite different. A quick trawl through entries in directories of science education websites does however indicate that, with notable exceptions, what is available has taken little account of the difficulties encountered by younger children that we have described. Too often, these sites are either too wordy, non-interactive, packed with facts, uninteresting or simply games that do not teach anything. In spite of this, it appears that teachers spend a lot of time encouraging pupils to use websites as authoritative sources (Barba, 2004).

However, some authors have set out to apply what is known about how children learn to web-based resources; for example, the science games for children developed at Cambridge University by *Engineering Interact* (<http://www.engineeringinteract.org/>). These deliberately set out to prevent users simply 'clicking through' by devising story-based games that allows science to be investigated, using the facts provided, but which cannot be completed without applying ideas. One notable difference in this programme is that the complex format often noted in printed science text is replaced by the sequenced arrival of items on screen, so that the problem of 'navigation' is removed, enabling the organisation and conceptual density of the text to be more easily dealt with. Research has also indicated (Barba 2004) that the organisational patterns most accessible to pupils in science web pages are those that use question-answer approaches, sequencing or attribution (the listing of characteristics to define concepts). Some criteria apply both to print and web page design; for example, the alignment, layout, linking and repetition of items in page or screen. However, it is still apparent that many web pages are badly designed and inconsiderate of the (young) audience's needs.

Finally, some sites have developed that set out to reach a wide range of countries, such as *Science Across the World* (<http://www.scienceacross.org>) but as yet there has been little evaluation of the use of these by children internationally.

### **Using existing materials effectively**

The lessons in the above for teachers are as follows:

- Know the range of materials currently available at the level of your children. Our research has shown that most newly-qualified teachers in England, for example, are only familiar with a few of these, and have received little or no training in their use with children.
- Analyse the materials for the demand they are likely to make on your children. We have developed a simple tool for this, the Index of Text Demand (ITD) which we are currently trialling in the UK and Canada.

- Choose considerate text that your pupils will be able to process with minimal teacher intervention.
- Teach them how to ‘navigate’ the page (see below).

‘Teaching the page’ is a technique devised by Walpole (2004) and involves a diagnostic interview with individual pupils. The pupil’s responses to questions such as, *What is that? Why is it there? How could you use it? What tells you...? Where can you see...?* Allow the teacher to assist the learner in using what is provided by the text more effectively.

### **Conclusion: Implications for the design of text material**

The starting point for all our research has been to interrogate the actual role of text in practice, in order to make the lives of teachers and learners easier. This means finding or designing effective, accurate, user-friendly, culturally ‘considerate’ text material, in particular for children whose mother tongue is not that of the text itself. We therefore make the following recommendations that we hope commissioning editors, authors, illustrators, designers, advisers, teachers and trainers will at least consider in relation to their roles.

- Publishers of school texts in particular need to understand the concept of ‘considerate’ text, and apply these in the design or choice of text for use by children. As can be seen, this does not imply creating texts that cost more to produce, but it does mean applying the principles of design discussed above.
- These include limited use of new concepts, terminology and complex sentences; consistent page layout and explicated use of symbols; visual simplicity and consistency; unambiguous captioning/tagging of visuals; sequencing; and sparing use of tables/frames.
- Web designers need to provide carefully developed interfaces or navigational devices such as sequencing, which contain instructional devices that prevent simple ‘clicking through’ to reach the end.
- Teachers need to be more involved in text design and writing, from the same culture and in the same language as those of the pupil audience. Currently, it tends to be first- world authors that design and write texts in their own first language, aimed at third-world children, for whom the text is in their second or third language. Some publishers do translate their texts (e.g. Macmillan’s Primary Science scheme for Tanzania) but this is still the exception.
- Publishers and web designers need to use illustrators that have an understanding of the concepts they are illustrating. There is still some resistance to this, apparently on cost grounds; and publishers appear reluctant to have this subject researched. It is, however, a key to increasing the comprehensibility of text and avoiding misleading images.
- Independent authors and designers have an important part to play in leading big publishers into new forms of mass-market text. Within the larger commercial publishing houses, format and design priorities are still largely determined by

marketing concerns, in terms of ‘appeal’ on the shelf. Where governments and non-profit making organisations such as NGOs are concerned however, design innovation is possible; and the Spider’s Place materials **illustrated above** indicate that this can be done successfully.

We end with this, as we began: What is a text? Whose text? Whose knowledge?

This sign was found in a public park in the second largest city of a southern African country. There was no such sign in the local language. Riding horses is not a frequent activity amongst impoverished black Africans.



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## **Textbooks as a research challenge in computational linguistics**

Nadine Lucas

Textbooks are easy to characterize intuitively, although the huge variety of textbooks makes it difficult to give all-encompassing definitions (Johnsen, 1993; Mikk, 2000; Bruillard, 2005). They are difficult to handle as a research object for discourse analysts and even more difficult to parse by computer means.

As they are devised to fulfil pedagogical needs, textbooks often rely on illustrations as well as text proper. Thus, the relationship between illustration and text has to be accounted for (Peraya & Nyssen, 1995; Reinwein, 1998). Being directed towards pupils and eliciting actual responses, textbooks also challenge text linguistics. The study of the various means for establishing relations with the readers cannot be postponed, although problems arising from the text itself are deemed difficult enough.

First, we try to characterize textbooks, notwithstanding differences according to the matter taught, by comparing them to research books and to novels. We briefly hint to a theoretical frame addressing the problem as a whole, and then shift to disposition as reflecting organization of contents. We then introduce common characteristics of explanatory texts and of didactic texts. Ways of navigation in the textbook are underlined, allowing us to stress relations between text, illustration and pedagogical material as such (questions and solutions, or further reading). We will finally open some perspectives for computer parsing of this particular type of books.

### **Textbooks compared with other books**

Textbooks raise the problem of genre in discourse analysis. By comparing textbooks across languages with other types of books such as academic books, popular scientific books and novels, a well-circumscribed group emerges. Although specific linguistic clues, embedded in lexicon or grammar, were used at some stage, they will be ignored here for the sake of clarity.

Textbooks at university undergraduate level were first studied in Japanese; later comparisons were made in two languages, French and English (Lucas *et al.*, 1993). The rule of thumb was to use second editions (to avoid *errata*), but no judgment on quality was expressed as such. The corpus covers various disciplines, mainly oceanography, mathematics, linguistics, but also geography, biology, physics and electronics. It also integrates on-line textbooks (<http://www.connectext.com/>). This small collection of some thirty textbooks was compared to research books in the same fields and also to popular science books when available. Textbooks all show the same peculiarities, as compared with other types of books.

The methodological frame for discourse analysis is based on two main complementary theories, exposition or *chinjutsu* according to Yamada and communication through text according to Jakobson. Exposition requires a distinction between the topic or theme and its development (Yamada, 1936). In written discourse contrasted elements should help co-construction of meaning. Yamada, himself a teacher, was interested in apercption and pays full attention to form ratios in language. The topic is short and has to be completed by the development. Yamada mainly studied agreement in syntax with regularly contrasted pairs or triplets. His model relies both on time and spatial disposition in a given frame.

Jakobson built a more complex system, known as enunciation – utterance, taking into account both people and contents (Jakobson, 1960, 1971). His theory includes variation of “shifters” along reference axes (time, place and protagonists). In an obvious over simplification, Jakobson is more interested in the concentric circles of discourse in situation than in the fitting together of puzzle parts of text in any given frame. He also imagines grammar of discourse as linked with time and spatial disposition, but cares more for symmetry (or anti-symmetry) than Yamada does.

### ***Disposition***

By studying textbooks across disciplines and across languages we get a better overall view of the genre called didactic. Rhetorical distinctions prove valuable to compare textbooks with other informative texts, such as articles in science magazines (Moirand, 1999). The most striking differences in text organisation are reflected in the mapping out of their elements, in other words discourse disposition is reflected in layout.

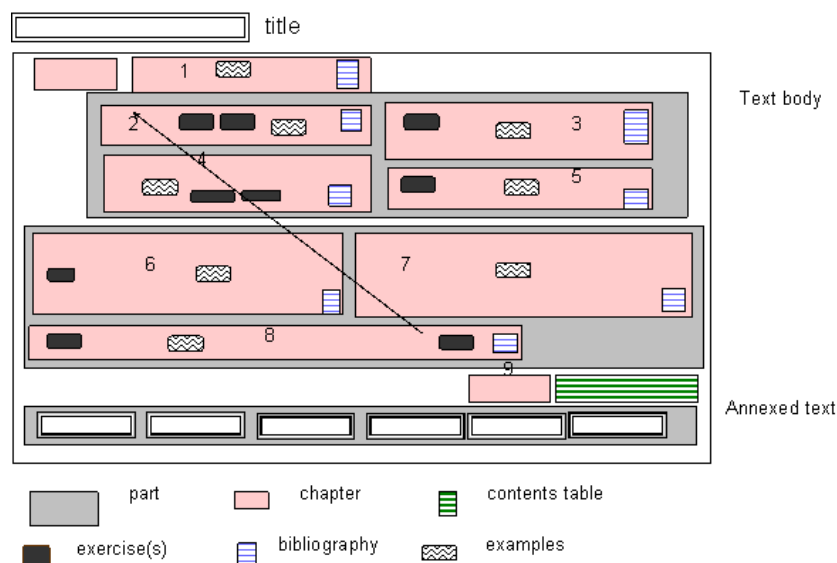
When comparing books, the text constituents are to be seen from above, or top-down, so peripheral parts such as preface, chapters and lists are the units we start with. Textbooks are divided in many chapters and surrounded by small annexes. Splitting in a large number of units is the rule, and a course may be split in a number of volumes. Lists play an important role in textbooks. Glossaries, tables or lists of symbols convey important lexical notions, while other reminders are provided (chronological tables, conjugation tables etc...) according to the matter taught. This is obviously different from fiction books. It is even different from academic books, because in textbooks there are sequences of lists, or sequences of supplementary material, while in research peripheral material is kept to a minimum; one bibliography list and one index is the rule. Wealth of navigation tools on the other hand, is shared with some popular science books and guides.

When getting into the text body, special chapters, for instance introduction and conclusion can be isolated because they are short and not subdivided. In ordinary chapters, subdivision is going on and a large number of subunits are found. Announcement (in introduction) regularly occurs. Recapitulation is a common feature in textbooks. This function is often stressed: a special section at the end of chapters is set apart, or a special chapter at the end of a part or of a book is set apart, with this explicit objective. Distant co-reference links are underlined.

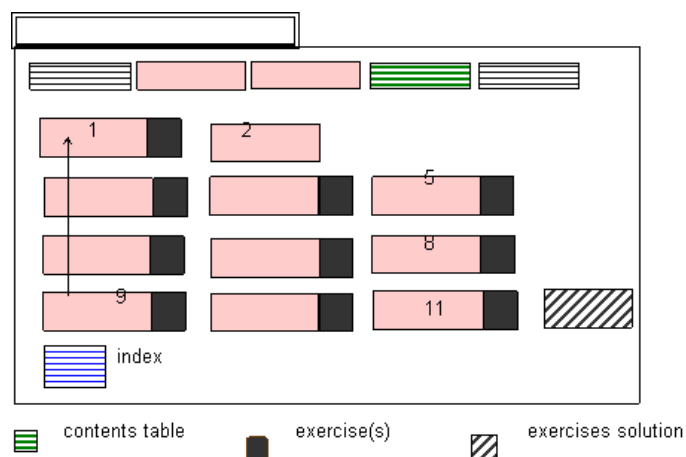
Then when delving into the chapters, special layout components are conspicuous, such as figures, plates, tables, lists. In textbooks, illustration is pregnant, but this is not distinctive against popular science books. Exercises are often provided. Interaction with the reader is necessary, as it is in novels. Reading fiction is a recreational activity arousing interest and involvement and textbooks authors rely on some literary tricks to favour implication from the reader. Finally, and although this is not a compulsory feature in every textbook, exercises are a typical constituent of textbooks. Exercises may be seen as the canonical form of explicit interaction in textbooks, but different means may be used, such as outright questions (with or without answers), pedagogical hints in imperative mood (e.g. *compare with chapter 2; see also...*), or lists of important items to be memorised.

Science books do not show such devices, and of course, novels do not explicitly ask intellectual efforts from the reader. In fiction, moreover, the book is seldom chunked in short parts and sections.

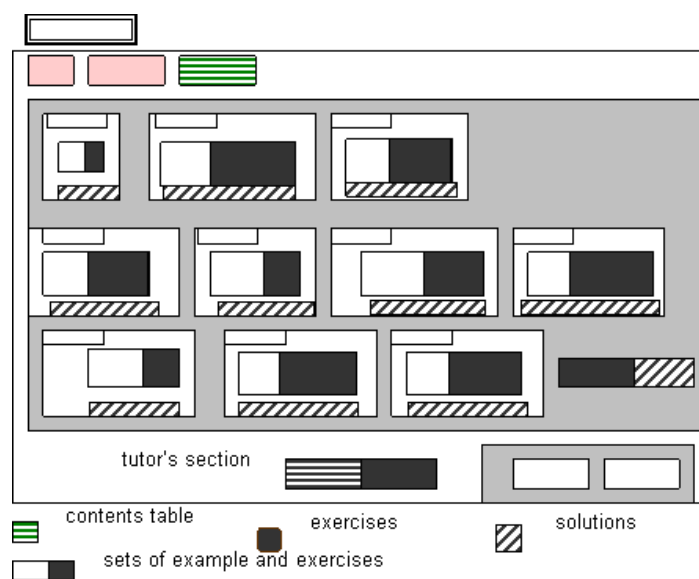
Disposition in textbooks is very regular. It reflects very well the many differences that distinguish a textbook from a research book or from an affordable science book or a guide. Three examples are sketched to show common structure (n° 6, 24 and 16 in corpus list).



**Figure 1.** Disposition in *Initiation à la linguistique (Introduction to linguistics)*



**Figure 2.** Disposition in Kairo giron kiso (Basic electronics)



**Figure 3.** Disposition in A Refresher in basic maths

### Textbooks at the core of the didactic genre

Textbooks are divided and subdivided many times. Text is accompanied by illustration, and interaction with the reader is arranged. Main characteristics of textbooks are discussed below.

### ***Explanatory texts***

Textbooks are expository texts (Jones, 1977), but this is also the case for academic science books as well as for popular science. Exposition in a more technical sense according to Yamada can be opposed to argumentation and explanation in that exposition requires explicit stress on what is to be discussed, while argumentation requires minimal framing. Explanation requires extra determination. As a means of comparison of structure within the sentence boundary, a sentence such as 1) would be expository, while 2) would be argumentative and 3) explanative.

1. *Of the various types of regulations considered, the easiest to enforce would be a minimum legal landing size, checks being carried out at ports or processing factories.*
2. *Scallop legislation in the Isle of Man has a complicated history.*
3. *With an animal such as the queen, with a rapid early growth rate and a short life span (and therefore a high mortality), the best fishing strategy appears to be the one at present applied, namely to fish the stock hard while they are there and before they die from other causes such as heavy predation from starfish.*

Textbooks are generally based on the explanation scheme. Explanatory texts are characterised by a relatively detailed statement (definition of the topic to be explained) and a long well constructed development. This long development is recursively embedded, that is to say a part is subdivided in chapters themselves subdivided in a number of sections each dealing with a specific subtopic. Some of these sections are further subdivided. The hierarchy of headings gives a good insight of the overall structure of the text. Contents tables tend to be detailed in textbooks for that reason.

Besides knowledge (hard facts or notions), a textbook also conveys methods and technical guidance. Among the many pedagogical means used to convey knowledge and know-how, comparison through quasi-duplication is very common. For instance, in a biology book (4 in corpus list), two photographs are shown side by side for the same phenomenon. One is plain, the other is marked by arrows. High lightening is repeated through chapters.

### ***Involvement and practise***

Moreover, textbooks constitute a link between teacher and pupil, but also between class and author. This complex communicational status can be studied in Jakobson's theoretical frame. Explanation is either repeated or reformulated in a different way. In the canonical textbook, exercises are provided on the same topic than the chapter, with a solved exercise then a new one (or a series) without solution. In that respect, the chapter structure fits with both theoretical models. In Yamada's view, a chapter ending with some incomplete form (with a question or unsolved problem) signals that the main discourse at book level is not yet concluded. In Jakobson's model,

renewal of interaction is seen with the same protagonists (the author via the proposed problem and the reader who is to solve it).

Dislocation of some parts or elements plays an important role. Typically, the solutions to problems have to be found at some distant place or guessed. This is a kind of suspense, favouring involvement, like in some works of fiction.

A very important characteristic of textbooks is that illustration and examples are carefully introduced, and that text progression is coupled with illustration (Mayer, 1997; Sadoski & Paivio, 2001). There is constant reinforcement between the two systems. This does not mean that constant bijection holds between a given text span and an individual illustration, but rather that distribution and order in each set are complementary. Text and illustration should be thought as two modalities for the same message. Illustration should be taken in a broad sense, because in some disciplines textual material may be used as illustration. Text excerpts in history, examples in linguistics are typical illustrative material, distinguished by layout. In mathematics or physics, formulae are half way between text and illustration. Systematic reinforcement of the two systems is not found in research books or articles, where comment is often skipped if illustration is self-explaining or conversely illustration is skipped when deemed redundant with text (sometimes there is a mention *data not shown*).

### ***Two levels of reading***

A third characteristic is that textbooks provide two coherent levels of reading (at least). Didactic texts need to be devised for reading and browsing. Ordinary chronological reading should be possible, but also “navigation” should be possible for rehearsing special topics. This entails special disposition, such as each part should be independent, yet obviously fitting in the whole and providing a sense of progression in learning. A very clear organisation is needed. Most textbooks provide double entry. The extensive use of lists, used as a quick way to navigate in the book, has already been mentioned, along with the habit of providing recapitulation sections, fulfilling the need to measure progress. The expository structure allows announcement of the contents inside the chapters for special reference on a given topic. Some chapters begin with warnings, or reminders, about the notions that should be mastered before further study.

**Long-term memory and global structure** Pedagogical needs are driving the disposition and layout of textbooks, but language dependent discourse laws also apply. Since it would be difficult to understand what is of primary importance and what is secondary, if patterns were merely repeated for all ranks in a hierarchy, saliency principles help keep the global structure in mind.

Thus, exercises, when generally present, are missing at some point. On figure 1, chapter 7 has no exercise, which is congruent with expository structure in French, marked near the end (by absence of a feature the reader has been used to), whereas on figure 2 chapter 2 has no exercise, which again is congruent with expository

structure in Japanese, where the thematic segment should be incomplete. The exercises segments thus play a discursive function that can be played by segments with a different content. In example 3, the tutor's section gives extra exercises and test without solutions. In this book, solutions behave as a mark for saliency, they are noticeably absent at one point. In other examples, this role is devoted to elements of recapitulation or more general reflection on the matter taught.

The overall expository structure is also reminded in the last chapters, which are linked to the beginning by far-flung co-reference links, either on illustration or text, and often both. Links are represented on the figures by arrows. In parallel, the end (last chapter, sometimes the appendix) is signalled by mood, re-enacting personal communication through direct address, injunction, encouraging remarks, humour.

**Rhythm and local structure** When studying disposition in more detail, position of exercises and illustration inside chapter and sections appear to be very important. Heritage principles govern disposition in subordinated segments, so that unity in organisation prevails. Local salience is created through rhythm and break of rhythm. Rhythm stems from repeated patterns. Usually, one set of text constituents is constant and one set undergoes variations.

Among many possible strategies, example 1 illustrates a wide variety of exercises, at different places and ranks throughout the chapters. One is found in each chapter (with one exception in chapter 7 already commented) but the last chapter before conclusion begins and ends with problems. This is an unusual position, and the choice is commented in the text — telling the student he is now able to solve problems by himself, and even to ask himself questions without being guided. Example 2 illustrates the choice of regularity in position and form of exercises in each chapter (except the second one). The local variation in form is to be seen in titles and illustrations, with chapter 9 being an exception. In example 3, built on the list principle, all chapters provide sets of subunits consisting of one example plus exercises, and all end with solutions. This uniformity in sequence is broken only when an achievement test is provided at the end of the student's section, with no example, a set of problems and their solutions, followed by ratings and assorted comments.

In textbooks without exercises, rhythm is created through repetitive patterns playing the same function of constants and variables. One has to find the odd element in a series. As an example, in a geography book (2 in list), chapters are introduced by a portrait of a leader, except the first one, which gives the status of saliency mark to the portrait. The last portrait breaks local uniformity rules: it depicts an imaginary character, metaphorically related to the content of this chapter, the future of the region.

The guidance function, on the other hand, is played in many instances by insertion of reflection passages usually stressing difficult points and finally the need for autonomy.

### *Some differences between textbooks*

Self-contained books or differentiated books are two ways of enacting interaction with readers supposed to share a classroom situation. Some textbooks provide exercises and their solutions, so students can use them independently (examples cited are of that type). Others provide solutions in a separate part (teacher's book), thus the role of the teacher as a mediator is stressed. Complete divergence appears when solutions are in a separate volume available at special conditions (20-21 in list). In the latter type, the role of the teacher as authority is stressed. These orientations are reflected in the overall disposition of the book.

Electronic textbooks and paper books are also somewhat different. In electronic books, pedagogical strategies are emerging and still evolving. Illustration tends to be richer and bigger in size (see *Mathworld* 30 in corpus list). As for co-reference, links are provided for navigation, but a click can bring the student to the next section or to a very distant one: the overall disposition of the book is somehow lost. Consequently, one benefit of carefully laid classic textbooks, training memory and favouring long-range links over short ones, might be more difficult to obtain with electronic books. But site maps can provide extra means to visualise hierarchy of topics (see *Global problems* 28 in corpus list).

Other books with similar structure are found. Most popular science books share the same principles than textbooks, they provide explanations, they use illustration, stress saliency and local order, but few fall in the didactic category, unless they provide training (31 in list is one of these). Self-help guides are didactic and very close to textbooks.

Since we studied textbooks at university level, the complexity of structure is higher than in school or college books. The network of reference is elaborate. Textbooks prepare students for the task of reading academic literature that is even more elaborate and elliptic.

### **Method problems in computational linguistics**

Scale problems are very important in computational linguistics. An overwhelming majority of computational studies at text level rely on lexicon only. The layout of documents is discarded. Consequently, differences between research books and textbooks within a given domain will not appear. Interest is focussed on text alone, and relation between illustration and text proper is not accounted for (Feiner & McKeown, 1990 are an exception). Last, most semantic analyses are conducted at sentence level (see for example Prince, 1999 on explanations).

Work is in progress in our laboratory to try and overcome these limitations, following the stylistics track (Karlgrén, 2000, 2003). Electronic textbooks were used for preliminary tests to assess technical difficulties. In order to conduct computational parsing of such books, new tools have been elaborated. A special document template description (DTD) is defined for textbooks, allowing for



illustration in a broad sense. The main difficulty in the technical field is to allow for complex hierarchies, that is not-recursive hierarchies. This is necessary to handle different “grains”, mainly to account for relative autonomy of chapters or sections within a book, while keeping track of overall progression, which is computed at a higher grain.

The correct retrieval of text structure is the first task. Then the retrieval of special textual objects (e.g. blocks of exercises or contents table) has to be achieved. Human readers are guided by meaning, while computer handling is blind and uses layout differences and similarities to start from. The yet tentative overall algorithm takes advantage of stylistic constraints, backed by the hypothesis that in didactic books the two theoretical models we used do converge.

However, these models do not converge at all levels of segmentation. Interpretation of indices (or accuracy of interpretation) depends on the choice of unit. Consider for example the fact that the collection of books on physics (10-14 in corpus list) is sequentially ordered in a series, with the training part at the end, exactly like chapters in a book. This is a structural similarity that is hard to detect through usual computation techniques. Textual objects are considered relevant if they can be handled as ordered elements in series and can be compared with the same metrics, with relative measure units.

As mentioned earlier, positions of text marks vary according to language and culture, but also according to complexity of the book (related to grade) and to personal style of authors. Further research is to be conducted to order variables and for instance to find whether detection of personal style or detection of collective style should be conducted first.

## **Conclusion**

Textbooks are representative of the didactic genre, which cross languages and epochs. This genre is based on explanation but also aims at active implication from the reader. It implies a very careful organisation and layout, in order to guide the reader and provide room for interaction. Exercises are the canonical form of interaction.

Due to the many constraints of clear explanation and sufficiently detailed information on each topic, textbooks share many common features. Clear segmentation allows parallel progression between illustration discourse and text discourse. Overall progression through the book is marked by explicit checkpoints.

Although textbooks are highly constrained, they still differ widely according to matter and grade, not to mention culture. Thus, they stand as an exciting research challenge in computational linguistics, where only some bases have been tentatively established.

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### ***Didactic book***

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# **Intersectionality - A Theoretical Inspiration in the Analysis of Minority Cultures and Identities in Textbooks**

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In recent years the concept of intersectionality has emerged in feminist studies in the Nordic countries. Intersectionality implies more than gender research, more than studying differences between women and men, and more than diversities within women's groups or within men's groups. Intersectionality tries to catch the relationships between socio-cultural categories and identities. Ethnicity is combined with gender to reflect the complexity of intersectionality between national, new national background and womanhood/manhood: What happens when for example the Norwegian, Norwegian-Turkish and female categories and identities intertwine? How do the male category and masculine identities emerge with Iraqi and Norwegian categories and identities? Intersectionality focuses on diverse and marginalized positions. Gender, race, ethnicity, disability, sexuality, class and nationality are categories that may enhance the complexity of intersectionality, and point towards identities in transition.

This article presents approaches to intersectionality in theoretical debates and in using the concepts in the analysis of minority cultures and identities. The debate about additive and transversal intersectionality is presented, and is expanded with the complexity of intersectionality. Connected to the concept of intersectionality is the question of power, inspired by Michel Foucault. Power is introduced as procedures of exclusion and inclusion. The use of intersectionality in textbook analysis is presented in the light of textbooks being special or specialized; and normalization, homogenization and classification are introduced as concepts to encircle the "conditions" of textbooks in handling complexity. To illustrate possible uses of intersectionality in textbook analysis, the Sámi in Norwegian textbooks are drawn attention to. One Norwegian textbook is chosen, because the textbook presents various representations of categories, identities and power in function.

## **The concept of intersectionality**

Intersectionality may be defined as a theory to analyse how social and cultural categories intertwine. The relationships between gender, race, ethnicity, disability, sexuality, class and nationality are examined. The word intersection means that one line cuts through another line, and can be used about streets crossing each other. From the very beginning intersectionality was introduced as intersection in the American sense of the word to denote ways in which people of colour cross gender (Crenshaw, 1989). American researchers criticized the gender-based research for producing diversity in gender but homogenized race. In feminist studies women and

men were analysed as different and heterogeneous across and within the female and male categories. However, when it came to the question of race, the race-based critics argued that women and men were all white and all of the same Western race (Crenshaw, *op.cit.*; McCall, 2005). In the American concept of intersectionality the focus was on race and gender. Since the studies concentrated on the poor and marginalized coloured population, the class dimension was often implied in the theoretical reflections and analysis (Crenshaw, 1995). Disability and sexualities have also been integrated in the theory of intersectionality (Meyer, 2002; Lykke, 2005).

The concept of intersectionality occurred as an interplay between Black Feminism, feminist theory and post-colonial theory in the late 1990ies and the beginning of the third millenium. However, the reflection of interaction between several categories may be followed in feminist theories from the 1970ies like feminism and socialism, post-colonial feminism, queer-feminism (Lykke, *op.cit.*; Yuval-Davis, 2005).<sup>1</sup> These theories concentrate like intersectionality on socio-cultural power orders. The theory of intersection is focusing on how power can be constructed through amalgamation of male/female, black/white, Turkish/Norwegian, hetero-/homosexual etc. For example, the theory inspires to examine, how the intersection of becoming a female single living teacher of colour in Norway may influence the position in the periphery of university power.<sup>2</sup> Intersectionality is used to analyse the production of power and processes between gender, race, ethnicity etc., and is involved with analysing social and cultural hierarchies within different discourses and institutions (Yuval-Davis, *op.cit.*; Lykke, *op.cit.*). Rather than looking at the majority culture, the theory of intersection reflects the minority culture:

The concept can be a useful analytical tool in tracing how certain people seem to get positioned as not only different but also troublesome and, in some instances, marginalized. (Staunæs, 2003a, 101)

Intersectionality points towards the critical view on becoming “the other” in a normative setting within a general Western culture or more locally within a schoolyard in Copenhagen, Denmark in the year 1999/2000. In her analysis of students in secondary school, Dorthe Staunæs presents Wahid in 9<sup>th</sup> grade with bright red pants, bracelets and bleached hair. She is introduced to Wahid by other students who look at him as different from them (Staunæs, 2003b). Wahid is the vehicle of “otherness” in a local context and situation where he becomes troublesome to the “normal” students. The concept “troublesome” refers to people who makes it problematic to construct normalization, and who do not fit into the conception of for example a friendly Danish schoolyard or a peaceful nation and society. Such students or people are marginalized by the majority culture.

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<sup>1</sup> The concept of queer refers to theory of sexualities, troubling the heterosexuality. Queer may be translated with awry, strange and suspicious (Knudsen, 2004a).

<sup>2</sup> The example is given with references to theory and analytical examples by Hooks 2003, Mørck 1998, Søndergaard 1996, Collins *et al.* 2000.

The theory of intersectionality stresses complexity. However, not all categories are necessarily mentioned. Whether gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality, class, disability, nationality or other categories are integrated differ, and what is important and to whom is an ongoing discussion between researchers (Borgström, 2005; Yuval-Davis, *op.cit.*; Mc Call, *op.cit.*). Most of the researchers are aware of gender, race and/or ethnicity. Afro-American feminist researchers stress the race and gender categories and identities, thus using them to emphasize sexism and racism involved in American societies (Crenshaw, *op.cit.*; Mc Call, *op.cit.*). In the Nordic countries gender and ethnicity have been included in the concept of intersectionality (Mørck, 2003; Staunæs, *op.cit.*; Haavind 2003). Especially among feminist researchers in America, the intersection of queer sexuality and disability has been stressed. In the book *Extraordinary Bodies*, the intersection of disability, gender and sexuality is used to focus on the marginalized female disabled bodies (Thomson, 1997). So far intersectionality has been used to reflect the constructions of gender, ethnicity and sexuality in the Nordic countries. Disability is still rare in the theory of intersectionality, and class is an even more invisible category in today's Nordic use of intersection.

### Additive and transversal intersectionality

When the concept of intersectionality was introduced as a matter of blindness in feminist theory, the blindness was reflected in theories of race and ethnicity to open up for diverse entrances to race, ethnicity and gender. It was not enough to present a theory to incorporate diversity among people of colour. The theory had to adopt the diversity among women of colour. However, the avant-garde to introduce and use intersectionality were first of all interested in the ways race and racially discrimination interacted with gender:

In an earlier article, I used the concept of intersectionality to denote the various ways in which race and gender interact to shape the multiple dimensions of black women's employment experiences. (Crenshaw, *op.cit.*, 358).

Theories of race, ethnicity and gender gradually added theories of sexuality, disability etc. However, rather than discussing the variations of categories, the ongoing debate is how to use intersectionality in a wider sense than additive:

Additive intersectionality means that both the subject formations based on gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality, etc., and the orders of power that create them, are analysed as separated structures and limited units which do interact, but not intra-act. (Lykke, *op.cit.*, 9, my translation).

The additive perspective is turned into a problem, because any category may be considered as the most significant one. Using the metaphor of the cross-road the ethnicity may be chosen in favour of gender as the one road chosen, while the other road is left behind (Lykke, *op.cit.*; Yuval-Davis, *op.cit.*). Another problem is that the categories may be treated as "competing intersectionality", where categories are

valued in a hierarchy as was the case in the 1970ies debate on whether class was more significant than gender (Lykke, *op.cit.*, 10, my translation). Furthermore, categories may be reflected as pearls on a string without taking the mutual processes in of the construction of categories and identities seriously.

The word “inter-action” may be associated with assembling separated categories (Lykke, *op.cit.* with reference to Barad, 2003). The categories could be seen as overlapping but they did not create “transversal perspective” (Yuval-Davis, 1997, 130). Instead “intra-section” has been suggested as a catchword to be aware of how the categories intertwine, pervade and transform each other (Lykke, *op.cit.*). With transversal perspective the theory of intersectionality inspires to raise questions like these: “How is ethnicity gendered and how are masculinity and femininity ethnicized and racialized?” (Mørch and Staunæs, 2003).

The additive and transversal perspectives on intersectionality may also be interpreted as the taken point of view. In my view the additive perspective stresses the socio-cultural categories and thus emphasizes the repression of black women, Turkish women in Norway etc. as different from white women, white Norwegian women etc. The socio-cultural category of gender is added to the socio-cultural categories of race and ethnicity. The categories are connected to something “out there” in the society or in the nation. But when it comes to identities, they are connected to individuals, groups and collective narratives telling how we represent and construct our selves. Identities deal with positions that the individuals may be placed inside, interpreted as belonging to and negotiated with (Hall, 1990; Gergen 1991; Søndergaard, *op.cit.*). For example, a Turkish woman in the capital of Norway may negotiate transverse ways of making “turkishness”, “mothering”, “citizenness” and “nationality”. The different use of additive and transversal intersectionality may be seen as a matter of operating with categories or identities as analytical tools, or connected to the disciplinary and academic background of the researchers. Mainly, the focus on social and cultural categories is adduced by sociologists, whereas the awareness of identities is presented by psychologists and anthropologists (Mc Call, *op.cit.*). In order to make the field of the different uses of intersectionality a bit more complex, many researchers inspired by intersectionality are working interdisciplinary.

The interdisciplinarity in using the concept of intersectionality may be read in most of the theoretical reflections and the feminist research done in the Nordic countries. Furthermore, the influence of the post-structuralism of the 1990ies is remarkable among the adoption of the concept of intersectionality in the Nordic countries. The influence of post-structuralism in reflecting transversal perspectives on intersectionality is approached in different ways. First of all the theory of intersectionality is introduced to deconstruct and destabilize the universalism of gender and ethnicity. Gender and ethnicity may be interpreted as constructed categories and positions, but they may never be taken for granted as categories (Knudsen, 2005; Stormhøj, 2006). In post-structuralism categories and binaries like woman/man, black/white, Turkish/Norwegian etc. are to be deconstructed and



destabilized. Secondly post-structuralism does not operate with manifest and immanent levels. This is a theory that belongs to structuralism, where the theory operates with analysing in-depth and reducing meaning to a-historical concepts like nature versus culture, and femininity versus masculinity (Knudsen, 2002). In the theory of intersectionality it is difficult to distinguish the levels of analyses. Categories, subject formations, positions and identities are mixed together in most of the theory presented.

In my view the relationships between socio-cultural categories and identities open up to a transversal perspective. Rather than making hierarchies of categories and identities, intersectionality, as the concept is being used in the Nordic countries, takes the different perspectives connected to power in discourses into consideration, power in specific contexts and situations, and power in processes (Søndergaard, 2005; Staunæs 2003b, *op.cit.*). Thirdly the concept of intersectionality has turned towards the transversal perspective as a matter of troubling gender, sexuality, ethnicity, disability, nationality etc. The great influence from Judith Butler's concept "gender trouble" in the Nordic countries should not be underestimated (Butler, 1990). When gender makes trouble, the heterosexuality is problematised, and vice versa. Similarly it may be claimed with ethnicity: When ethnicity makes trouble, gender and heterosexuality are problematised.

### **The complexity of intersectionality**

To catch the complexity implied in intersectionality, the American sociologist Leslie Mc Call operates with three approaches: the anticategorical complexity, the intracategorical complexity and the intercategory complexity (Mc Call, *op.cit.*). She defines intersectionality as "the relationships among multiple dimensions and modalities of social relations and subject formations" (*op.cit.*, 1771). The anticategorical complexity is connected to feminist post-structuralism and deconstruction. This complexity "rejects" or destabilizes race, class, sexuality and gender.<sup>3</sup> Constructions and deconstructions of categories is a matter of language:

The primary philosophical consequence of this approach has been to render the use of categories suspect because they have no foundation in reality: language (in the broader social or discursive sense) creates categorical reality rather than the other way around. (*op.cit.*, 1777).

According to Mc Call this approach analyses power and knowledge with mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion. The anticategorical complexity may operate

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<sup>3</sup> Mc Call writes that the anticategorical complexity "rejects categories" (Mc Call, *op.cit.*, 1773). I understand post-structuralism with deconstruction as a matter of destabilizing categories.

with several genders, sexes, sexualities and multiracialism to avoid fixed and normative structures and subjects.<sup>4</sup>

The intracategorical complexity is connected to feminists of colour, and Mc Call places this approach between the anticategorical and intercategorical approaches. The intracategorical approach is adopted to examine crossing categories and identities, and may focus “on particular social groups at neglected points of intersection” (*op.cit.*, 1774 with reference to Dill, 2002, 5). The researchers are critical to the general use of categories, but use categories in-depth studies: “... critical of broad and sweeping acts of categorization rather than as critical of categorization per se.” (*op.cit.*, 1779). This approach is connected to the very beginning of using the concept of intersectionality, and Kimberlé Crenshaw is in a note positioned as one of the spokeswomen:

Crenshaw writes for example, “Recognizing that identity politics takes place at the site of where categories intersect thus seems more fruitful than challenging the possibility of talking about categories at all” (*op.cit.*, 1779, note 12 with references to Crenshaw, 1991, 337).

Crenshaw uses for example violence towards women of colour as an intersection of racism and sexism. According to Mc Call, the approach is oriented towards qualitative analysis of social location.<sup>5</sup>

Mc Call places her own research in the intercategorical complexity. This approach builds on quantitative rather than qualitative methods, where the two other approaches are qualitatively oriented. The intercategorical complexity uses categories “strategically”, and may be named “the categorical approach” (*op.cit.*, 1773, 1784). The approach studies structural relationships in many social groups, and not within single groups or single categories:

The categorical approach focuses on the complexity of relationships among multiple social groups within and across analytical categories and not on complexities within single social groups, single categories, or both. The subject is multi-group, and the method is systematically comparative. (*op.cit.*, 1786).

With the intracategorical or categorical complexity Mc Call seems to open for a closer connection between quantitative and qualitative analyses. As she points out: If gender is analysed, one can compare two groups only. If the categories of working, middle and upper classes are connected to gender, there will be six groups to analyse. With race another two groups are incorporated, and twelve groups are to be compared. If ethnicity is added with “Cubans, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans”, the

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<sup>4</sup> Researchers come from sociology, psychology, anthropology, pedagogy, literature and media. Many of the researchers are working interdisciplinary.

<sup>5</sup> According to Mc Call the researchers mainly come from social science and anthropology, but as I see it, the researchers may also have their background in cultural studies, social psychology and pedagogy.

comparison would rise to multi-group studies, and would be of such dimensions that the analysis has to exclude other categories “such as gender or class” (*op.cit.*, 1786).

### **Power: exclusion and inclusion**

The focus on power in theory of intersectionality may be connected to mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion in the Foucauldian sense of power (McCall, *op.cit.*; Lykke, *op.cit.*). Power is not only a matter of suppression. Rather power may be defined as productive and positive (Flyvbjerg, 1992/2003; Heede, 2000). Closely related to power is the commitment to knowledge and truth. In every discourse there are arguments and negotiations about knowledge and truth. However, in Michel Foucault’s use of the concept ‘discourse’, the orders of power are in the foreground rather than the subjects. Power functions in discourses and in networks between discourses, as well as power and power relations are always in progress (Foucault, 1980). The Foucauldian use of the concept of power and power relations involves both exclusion and inclusion. With the concepts of exclusion and inclusion power may be analysed as continually moving. Rather than viewing exclusion barely as a matter of suppression, exclusion involves discourses of opposition and productive power with negotiations about the meaning of gender, race, ethnicity etc. In the educational discourse the negotiation about for instance definitions of knowledge is an ongoing process with procedures of ex- and including gender, race, ethnicity etc. However, rather than concentrating on what power may contain, the inspirations from Foucault turns towards how power procedures function in the educational discourse.

In his inaugural lecture “L’ordre du Discours” (The order of discourses), Foucault presents procedures of exclusion, internal procedures and a “third group of procedures” (Foucault, 1999, 22, my translation). The procedures of exclusion classify and arrange the production of discourses. Foucault finds the most obvious procedure of exclusion in prohibition. Prohibition is an interaction of things that should be and should not be talked about. In his study of the History of sexuality for example, Foucault shows the ways other sexualities than the heterosexuality are excluded from the language, marginalized in writings and brought into language (Foucault, 1978). Foucault’s study of exclusion of sexualities may for example lead to an analysis of how homosexuality is treated in a Danish schoolyard with Wahid as mentioned earlier, or it may inspire discussions on how textbooks exclude other family forms and sexualities than the nuclear family in a heterosexual discourse (Knudsen, 2006, in print). Other procedures of exclusion mentioned by Foucault are the contrasts between sense and madness, and true versus false. The exclusion of madness in the educational discourse and textbooks may be questioned: In what ways are the educational discourse and textbooks oriented towards the healthy, unproblematic and sensible life rather than towards the problems of living? When it comes to the aspect of truth, the textbooks may be seen in the light of stressing “the will to pursue knowledge” intertwined with “the will to pursue truth” (Foucault, *op.cit.*, 11-12, my translation). Without doubt, the truth is in the foreground of what

the educational discourses in textbooks and other educational settings make available for the students. But how is the truth made available? How does the truth exclude for example awareness of gender, race, ethnicity etc.?

The internal procedures and Foucault's third groups may be regarded as procedures of inclusion. Among the many principles mentioned under these procedures, the thinning seems to be useful in the perspective of the theory of intersectionality. Thinning concentrates on how internal procedures include narratives that are told over and over again, and in the process of telling thin out information similar to trees in a wood that are cut down to strengthen the remaining trees. Similarly, in textbooks the information is reduced to strengthen the message to the students. In History textbooks for example the same story about kings and wars strengthen the inclusion of fighting males, while motherhood, weak masculinity and anti-militarism are excluded. It is also important to have the principle of control through the disciplines in mind while analysing textbooks and intersectionality – whether defined as curriculum subjects in a school-context or as branches related to professions. The disciplines as curriculum subjects define core topics, methods used, argumentations, definitions and techniques. In for example mother-tongue, the national category may be seen as included to control or to avoid the awareness of class, race and disability.

So far the approaches to intersectionality have mostly been used in qualitative field studies. The theoretical inspiration has developed the complexity of analyses from observations, interviews and questionnaires. Violence against women of colour has been observed in battered women's shelters (Crenshaw, *op.cit.*). Marginalized masculinities and ethnicities have been examined in classrooms and schoolyards (Mørch, *op.cit.*; Staunæs, *op.cit.*). However, I believe these approaches will be useful in textbook research. Although there will be a focus on the qualitative textbook analyses in the following, I think the quantitative comparative approach may be a valuable inspiration to an increasing awareness of textbooks' marginalization of minority cultures. With the qualitative approaches I am inspired to use as well additive as transversal intersectionality, and to take inspirations from both the anticategorical and intracategorical complexity as defined by Mc Call.

### **Textbooks and intersectionality**

Textbooks contain special and specialized texts. They are special because of the educational discourse in which they are weaved. Researchers in the field of textbooks have labelled texts in textbooks as "primary educational" if they were written with the purpose of teaching and learning in school; whereas "secondary educational texts" have other purposes than teaching and learning, but contribute to textbooks in order to be used in schools (Skyum-Nielsen, 1995, 172). However, both the primary and secondary educational texts have been exposed to selection, and the secondary texts have changed contexts. The processes of selections and changing contexts result in specialized texts; texts that are transformed into a special sort of school language, often closely connected to the National Curriculum and adapted to

different age groups. Furthermore, the textbooks are divided into curriculum subjects, thus being specialized in mother-tongue, foreign languages, natural science and environmental studies, social studies etc.

Inscribed in textbooks are the model-student or the “pupilness” category (Staunæs, 2003a, 104). Pupilness may be characterized by a rather neutral presentation with a third person narrator. The neutral presentation concentrates on creating the educational texts with “techniques of normalization, homogenization and classification” (Nassem, 2006, 2). I see normalization as a case of intertwining for example nationality and pupilness, and may be followed by inclusion of the middle class, white race and healthy child. On the other hand this kind of presentation excludes other classes but one, other races but the white and disabled children. When normalization incorporates a showing of enlightenment and truth telling, they are often unspoken or written between the lines. However, the power of enlightenment and truth are constructions that imply hierarchies where nationality and pupilness may be at stake at the expense of gender, race, ethnicity etc. The categories may also be told in an implicit hierarchy with nationality in the first row, then pupilness, followed by gender etc. Also in the case of homogenization the pupilness is inscribed in the textbooks. The pupilness may be told as a matter of for example neutrality of race, ethnicity and nationality. However, as feminist researchers have pointed out, the gender neutrality points towards the male gender as the genderless gender, whereas mentioning gender is similar to stress the female gender (Ronkainen, 2001; Knudsen, 2004b). The same awareness may be raised to race, ethnicity, sexuality and nationality. For example the raceless race means white people, and the sexless sexuality implies heterosexuality.

If gender is mentioned as an issue, the classification comes into focus as a matter of two genders; male and female. This classification means that the two genders are considered opposite. The textbooks would then typically operate with “girlness” and femininity in contrast to “boyness” and masculinity.<sup>6</sup> When equality between female and male, Turkish-Norwegian and Norwegian is stressed, the textbooks choose to connect classification with either homogenization – we are all the same – or heterogenization – we are different, but the differences are the natural way of joining the friendly Nordic welfare states. The critical point is that both homo- and heterogenization exclude the diversities within and across for example gender and ethnicity, and fail to catch the socio-cultural changes of today post-modern societies. Nationality, pupilness, gender, race, ethnicity and sexuality are categories in transition, and identity may not be spoken of in singular. In the post-modern societies, the concept of identity is unsteady, inconsistent and seems to live in the plural as identities (Hall, *op.cit.*; Gergen, *op.cit.*). As Nina Lykke writes, the raise of intersectionality belongs to today's development of social and cultural changes, and incorporates changing identities:

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<sup>6</sup> The words “girlness” and “boyness” are my constructions in gendering “pupilness”.

More precisely I am of the opinion that the concept of intersectionality belongs to how people of today identify and negotiate their positions in relation to categories as gender, ethnicity, race etc. What does this mean? As a part of the actual intra-playing global and local, social, economical, technological and cultural changes, the discursive and institutional foundations of forming identities and the creation of subjects, once seen as quite stable, are falling apart. (Lykke, *op.cit.*, 14, my translation).

Textbooks may of course have difficulties in handling the complexity of intersectionality and the constant changes within categories and identities. Firstly textbooks are too “small” in the sense that they have to reduce the narratives into a few stories. But with the awareness of power and power relations according to the Foucauldian definitions, we may be aware of procedures of ex- and inclusion. Secondly textbooks are a-historical when it comes to cover the present time.

### **The Sámi in Norwegian textbooks**

Historically the Sámi are nomads and considered an ethnic minority in the Northern part of Norway, Sweden, Finland; and the Kola Peninsula in Russia. They are accepted as the aboriginals in the Nordic countries. In Norway they are included in political economy and general politics. They also have their own regional parliament (“sameting”) which handles administration and political questions of Sámi importance. In the Norwegian textbooks the Sámi are explicitly mentioned as Sámi education constitutes a specific chapter in the Norwegian National Curriculum of 1997.

In *Samfunnskunnskap 9* (Social studies, 9<sup>th</sup> grade), the Sámi are presented in one chapter out of five as “The Sámi – a people of four countries” (Blom *et al.*, 1998). In another Social studies textbook, also 9<sup>th</sup> grade, the Sámi are described as an ethnic group crossing countries, and the Norwegian ambivalence towards the Sámi is discussed (Mikkelsen *et al.*, 1998). The Sámi are present in textbooks for the subject curriculum Social studies and nature and environmental studies in 4<sup>th</sup> grade and the curriculum subject Social studies in 6<sup>th</sup> grade (Hebæk *et al.*, 1999; Båslund *et al.*, 1998). The History of the Sámi is told in textbooks 8<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> grades (Lund, 1997; Lund and Indresøvd, 1999). In religion and life philosophies, the Sámi are discussed in relation to Christianity, animism and racism (Gilje and Gjefsen, 1997; Holth *et al.*, 1998). To move a little deeper into the use of intersectionality in analysing the Sámi in a Norwegian textbook, I have chosen *Fra Saga til CD* (From Saga to CD, Jensen and Lien, 1998).

*Fra Saga til CD* is written for Norwegian for the 9<sup>th</sup> grade, and is an introduction to literary History in six chapters. The last chapter is about the Sámi people and culture. The chapter is arranged in sections with the following succession: the settlement, the history, the colonization of the Sámi land, religion and finally the Sámi literature and some Sámi authors. The content of this chapter is presented in similar ways as the contents of Social studies, geography, History and Christian

studies with religion and life philosophies contrasting the subject matter in Norwegian literature. In the textbook the Sámi is created in an interdisciplinary context that opens up for several socio-cultural categories and identities. In the presentation of the Norwegian literature and literary History, the history of independence in building the Norwegian nation is central. The Norwegian authors' political commitment is also mentioned. However, the main focus is on the literary History and the biographies of the authors.

The arrangement of the Sámi seems to create an inclusion in the exclusion. They are included as the last part of the book, and this signals that they are different than the Norwegians. The Sámi are so different that it is necessary that they are discussed from more perspectives than the Norwegians, and in an interdisciplinary concept that excludes them from the canonized literature. The Sámi have 'only' their oral stories, folk tales and "joik" in addition to "some Sámi authors" (*op.cit.*, 226, my translation).

Looking at the students' tasks, the textbook is an enlightening project. The Norwegian students have to figure out, where the Sámi have their territories and what yearly income they may have. The pupilness is constructed as an ignorance of the Sámi, the Sámi land and the Sámi History. This construction points toward the Norwegian pupilness. At the same time there is a project of morals in the pupilness, offering a bad conscience to the Norwegians who for ages have colonized, persecuted and forbidden the traditions of the Sámi people. The bad conscience is in my interpretation underscored by the headings "Colonization of Sámi land", "Compulsive Christianity" and a story about the ways "The missionaries conceived all joik as heathen, banned the joik, and punished those who "joiked". At least two identities are at stake in the pupilness, namely the identity of education in the enlightenment project and the ethnic Norwegian identity in the project of morality.

The story that is told about the Sámi in the textbook is mainly connected to Norway and the Norwegian. Although the textbook shows how the Sámi cross borders from "the North of Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Northwest of Russia", they return to the Norwegian position (*op.cit.*, 252, my translation). The story is about the Norwegian Sámi in Norway. The text concentrates on what the Sámi have been called in Norway, the Norwegians meeting the Sámi, the Norwegians colonizing the Sámi land, the Christianity of the Sámi in Norway and the NRK Sámi Radio.<sup>7</sup> The national perspective makes the "we" and "the other". Although the colonization of the Sámi land is explicitly explained, there is an unobtrusive exclusion of the Sámi with the "we" referring to Norwegians while the story about "the other" refers to the Sámi. The text focuses on Norwegian identity, and the Sámi is presented with an implicit understanding of "Norwegianness" which is intertwined with the school subject Norwegian.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> NRK is Norway's state radio.

<sup>8</sup> "Norwegianness" is my construction.

The textbook presents three positions of ethnicity.<sup>9</sup> Firstly and in the beginning of the chapter about the Sámi, the textbook informs about the connection between the Sámi, the people of nature and the indigenous people. The first position makes the Sámi a homogeneous people, where they are all the same and “one people” as the text says (*op.cit.*, 252). The homogeneity is emphasized through narratives about the Sámi having their own life rhythm, their own music and language. The Sámi’s own and special lifestyle is mentioned as a matter of fighting for human rights. According to the textbook, the Sámi insist on their roots as a people of nature and as indigenous people as if they live in “some timeless zone of the primitive, unchanging past”.<sup>10</sup>

The second position may be named the Norwegians in the Sámi, and is the construction of the dominant “we” and the oppressed “other” included in the project of morality about the colonization and compulsive Christianity. The Sámi is placed ‘to look upon themselves’ from the position of otherness. In this way, the other and otherness are critically inscribed in the Sámi identity. The “Norwegian authority” started “the colonization of Sámi land” and “disrupted a great part of the Sámi culture and religion” (*op.cit.*, 254, my translation). Several texts in the chapter are constructing how the Sámi were forced to forget their language and culture in the school in such ways that “our tracks were erased.” (*op.cit.*, 255, my translation). The erasure is written in protest and from a critical point of view. At the same time the erasure bears witness about the normalization of the Sámi, and thereby inscribes the Norwegian normalization in the Sámi.

The third position is presented as the nomad. The Sámi negotiate about the creolisation or the intermingling of the Sámi-Norwegian. About Sámi fairy tales the textbook states that “Sámi *fairy tales* are built up around the same pattern as all other fairy tales. What differs from other fairy tales you perhaps have grown up with, is that there are more reindeer, wolves and bears in the Sámi fairy tales.” (*op.cit.*, 258, my translation). The italics of the fairy tales in the first sentence express in my interpretation the amalgamation of ethnicities, and at the same time points to the heterogeneity with a mixture of the Sámi and the Norwegian. In addition the Sámi are moving as nomads between centre and periphery in the Norwegian society, where they have no roots, but routes.

During the three positions ethnicities are explained in ways that shift between descriptive and critical presentations. The three positions show ambivalence towards the Sámi. On one hand the texts show solidarity with the people of nature and the indigenous people, and also with the primitive and the homogenization. The description expresses the solidarity. On the other hand the critical presentations of the colonization of Sámi land, the Sámi religion, language and joik may be read as both a confrontation with the sins of the past and as a description about how the

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<sup>9</sup> In the presentation of three forms of ethnicity I am inspired by Hall, *op.cit.*

<sup>10</sup> Hall, *op.cit.*, 231. The quotation is from his writing about the Africaine in the Carribean cultural identities.



Sámi are integrated in the Norwegian community of today. The ambivalence in commuting between description and critical presentations may point towards a concealed wish to assimilate the Sámi and the Norwegian.

The two-gender model is presented in the texts about the Sámi. The two genders are illustrated by a photo of an adult female in a traditional Sámi costume ("karasjokdrakt") and an adult male wearing Sámi tunic and trousers ("tanadrakt"). The two genders carry the Sámi flag: he waves the flag, while she holds it. The traditional genders are classified through the texts with the male as the hunter and the warrior, and the female as milking the reindeer, joining weddings and taking care of the children. In the presentation of female and male genders as opposite, the traditional tales of the people of nature and the indigenous people are underscored as heterosexuality.

The presented disability in the textbook's information of the Sámi is a short walk. There are no fat Sámi, no limping Sámi, no blind Sámi, no Sámi in a wheel chair. The Sámi have no extraordinary bodies. In the normalization of the Sámi, the disabilities are made invisible and excluded. In the texts and illustrations, the Sámi are constructed with a healthy identity, with functional and fit bodies. In that sense they are all the same; and the homogenization is intertwined with the first position of ethnicity. The Sámi are even more normal than the Norwegians in this textbook. The Norwegians are now and then portrayed in caricatures of fatness, as animals and bald-headed. I interpret the lack of disability by the Sámi as connected to the project of morality excusing the colonization and persecution. With the inclusion of the Sámi ability, the story is reduced to the telling of only one identity; the healthy one.

The Sámi make their living by raising reindeer, hunting and fishing. So they did in the past, and still do at the present. They belong to the working class. Although this textbook stresses the working life of the Sámi male and female, the class background is not mentioned as such. The situation is reverse in the five chapters about the Norwegians in literature and culture. Several Norwegian authors are constructed as coming from a hard working background, and the writings and paintings are oriented towards poor people and hard working farmers and fishermen. By comparing the construction of the excluded class background of the Sámi and the included class background of the Norwegian, the Sámi is by nature connected to the working class. The essence of the Sámi is the working class, and this is their class identity, whereas the Norwegians have shown ways of struggling towards positions as authors and artists.

## **Conclusions**

The concept of intersectionality and the analysis of interacting socio-cultural categories, and identities have the aim to increase more democracy and equality without doing them mainstreamed and new-normalizing. Intersectionality may be used to analyse changes, variations and processes. The focus is on the minority cultures or the marginalized, the troublesome and the extraordinary. This focus may,

however, tell us very much about normalization, and what and how the 'normal' is constructed as the seamless centre.

In textbook research, intersectionality may be used to deconstruct normalization, homogenization and classification. Intersectionality may make us aware of the complexity, and the ways textbooks reduce, exclude and include categories and identities: curriculum subject or interdisciplinarity, pupilness, nationality, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, dis/ability and class.

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# **Central Scientific Views of the Present Situation of the Family and their Reflection in Schoolbooks for Civics in Germany**

Eva Matthes

## **Controversies and results of the current socio-scientific family research in Germany – some spot-lights**

An important milestone in the discussion was Ulrich Beck's thesis of the individualisation and thus of the pluralization of ways of living; he presented it for the first time in detail in his book *Risikogesellschaft. Auf dem Weg in eine andere Moderne* [*High Risk Society. On the Way to a Different Modern Age*] in 1986:

By the end of the sixties, family, marriage, and job – as a bunch of aims in life, situations in life, and biographies – had still an extensively binding nature. Meanwhile, options and constrictions of choice have opened up in all points of reference. It is no longer clear whether a person marries, when he or she marries, whether people live together unmarried, whether they get married but don't live together, whether a child is born or raised within a family or not, whether with the person with whom one lives together or with the person whom one loves and who lives together with another one, whether before the professional career or after it or in the midst of it [...]. Subsequently, it becomes more and more difficult to apply ideas to facts. The uniformity and the persistence of the ideas – family, marriage, parenthood, mother, father etc. – conceals and covers the *growing diversity* of situations and positions which hide behind them (163f.).

According to Beck, the decisive reason for that situation lies in the legally codified and socially more and more prevailing equality of women. The results are enormous:

Without a distinction between the roles of women and of men, there is no traditional nuclear family“; some sentences further, it says as follows: „In the course of the factual equalization of men and women, the foundations of the family [...] have come into question (ibid.).

Statements like that have induced Rosemarie Nave-Herz to point to the fact that this argumentation restricts the idea of the family to a specific family model which was predominant at a limited time; according to her, this is an unnecessary reduction (1994, 4). The same conceptual narrowness becomes obvious if one takes note of the book-title of Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim: *Was kommt nach der Familie? Einblicke in neue Lebensformen* [*What Comes After the Family? Insights into New Ways of Life*] (2000). She gives the following reasons for her title:

It is no capriciousness or academic hair-splitting if one talks about “family” in singular or about “families” in plural, and if one gives up the idea of the family and

replaces it underhand with conceptions like ‚familial ways of life’ or briefly ‚ways of life’. Rather, a factional dispute becomes visible, a question which is fought for bitterly and continuously: Shall we cling to the traditional family model – that unity of father-mother-child, legitimized by the registry office and bound together all their life –, shall we regard that type as the normal, adequate model? Shall all the other patterns be regarded as incomplete and divergent, as deficient and dysfunctional in comparison? (2000, 16f.)

In this context, Beck-Gernsheim then offers the conception of the “post-familial family” (17). Opposite to that, Rosemarie Nave-Herz advocates the thesis that one spares oneself all linguistic distortions by using a broader – nonetheless criteria-related – definition of the family which does justice to historical changes, and that – by doing so – one does not fall victim to the danger of attributing an almost invariable status to the bourgeois nuclear family with its fixed traditional role models, or rather of equalizing its decline with the decline of the family in general – and thereupon with the decline of successful relationships between the generations – (cp. Nave-Herz, 1994, 4f.; Mühlfeld, 2004, 34). Therefore, the primary interest of Nave-Herz lies in “the changes of the familial everyday life and of the relationships within the family” (1994, 18). How does she define the “family”? She declares the following items constitutive for a “family”:

1. the biological and social double nature owing to the acceptance of the function of reproduction and at least of the function of socialization, beside others which vary culturally; 2. a specific relationship of cooperation and solidarity; [...]; 3. the differentiation of generations (5).

With regard to the latter, she emphasizes:

In this respect, only the distinction between the generations (i.e. the relationship between parents respectively mother or father and children) may here be chosen as the essential criterion and not the differentiation of the sexes, i.e. the subsystem of the married couple; because at all times and in all cultures, there were (and there are) also families which were never based on the subsystem of a marriage or whose subsystem of marriage ceased to exist during the biography of the family, because of the loss of one of the roles as a result of death, of separation or of divorce. Hence, single mothers and fathers as well as unmarried life-term relationships with children constitute family systems as well (5f.).

There lies a problem in this definition by Nave-Herz because she ignores the “erosion of the bio-social double nature of the family”, as Rüdiger Peuckert puts it very bluntly (2004, 33). As examples, he mentions continuation or patchwork families, adoptive families and heterological insemination families (33f.). Even if the term “erosion” seems to be somehow exaggerated, particular types of family – not least adoptive families – are excluded by Nave-Herz’ definition. Therefore the educationalist Hildegard Macha formulates: “Whenever adults care for children and educate them continuously and their responsibility is state-approved, they make up a family” (Macha, 1997, 19).

Let us come back to Ulrich Beck once more. In his book *Risikogesellschaft [High-Risk Society]* he also talks about an “exemption with regard to the family” (188):

On the axis of time, the biographical family ties get perforated by the changing life chapters, and thus they are abolished. From exchangeable family relationships, the independence of the individual male and female biography inside and outside of the family becomes apparent (188).

Beck talks about a “biographical plurality of ways of life” (189). This statement is implicitly sustained by Nave-Herz in so far as she “points to the chronological changes of life and family cycles” (1994, 15) which result in an increase of “very different life and household patterns *without children*, because the lifetime grows longer and the period of family life grows shorter in consequence of the decreasing number of children per family” (18). But according to Nave-Herz, the evident increase of life patterns without children faces a vast stability of the pattern of the nuclear family though this type has severely changed within – with regard to the relation of the sexes as well as with regard to the relation of the generations; but for her, this does not actually mean a change of the original form. She makes its stability clear pointing to the fact that – in the nineties – about 85% of all children lived together with their own parents (cp. 13f.) – according to the PISA research about 75% in 2000 (cp. Baumert/Schümer, 2001, 334). Besides, other family types – like single parents, for example – are no new phenomena, according to Nave-Herz; of course she concedes that the reasons differed widely from today and that their social acceptance has increased to a large extent (1994, 12). It is also disputed that the pressure of decision-making on the individual has increased which is accompanied by challenges for the finding of one’s identity.

The social-historical family research points explicitly to the “variety of historical family types” (cp. e.g. Mitterauer, 1980; Gestrich, 1999; 2003). Mitterauer writes for example:

Even in the central zone of the family, in the group of the parents and the children, these relationships are much more complex in the historical dimension than it seems to the social scientist [in my opinion, one should differentiate that much stronger; E.M.] today. Especially in rural areas, there was a much higher rate of remarriage of widows and widowers, due to the high mortality figures and the economic necessity to remarry. Hence, stepmothers, stepfathers, stepbrothers, and stepsisters were very common. If a widower or a widow had already taken charge of children of his deceased partner in his or her first marriage, it could turn out that children were neither related by blood to their parents nor to some of their brothers and sisters (1980, 31)

– so Peuckert’s so-called “erosion of the bio-social double nature of the family” is no new phenomenon, too!

In the passage just quoted, Mitterauer points already to the high death-rate; this is one of the reasons why he – like many other historians – talks about the “myth of the pre-industrial extended family”. Life expectancy was much shorter than today; infant and juvenile mortality was distinctly higher, besides many children left their

parental household much earlier. A family with three generations was the exception; families were extended by domestic servants who also lived in “the entire house”, whether they were related to the housemother or to the housefather or not (cp. e.g. Mitterauer, 1980, 38ff.; Gestrich, 1999, 63ff.). In my opinion, it can therefore be concluded that the inner structure of “the entire house”, the existing blood and not blood relationships, and the role allocations were very heterogeneous: In the course of the industrialization, the nuclear family with father, mother and some (increasingly less) children and a polarization of the role allocations for both parents developed into the dominant model; it experienced its most extensive, but nonetheless very short supremacy at the end of the fifties and at the beginning of the sixties of the 20th century – at least in West Germany. This achieved standardization was again exposed to a transformation in the last decades which is *mainly* due to changes in the relations between the sexes and between the generations within the family – here I would agree to Nave-Herz. But it is also important – as Peuckert points to very insistently – to consider the changes of family relationships, e.g. in continuation families, though this is no new phenomenon, too, as we have heard – in pre-industrial times mainly due to the high mortality, nowadays due to separation and divorce, of course. “Single-parent-families” are recognized as family systems by the latest social scientific research – cp. Nave-Herz’ definition of the family which was quoted above –, though most of the “single-parents” regard that period as a transitory phase which should lead to a new partnership and which comes to that not so rarely (cp. Peuckert, 2004, 201ff.). In this context, Nave-Herz even talks about the “statistic marginality of the single-parent-family” (1994, 92); she does not mean it pejoratively, but she wants to emphasize the unbroken dominance of the nuclear family, consisting of father, mother and one or two children.

The educationalist Volker Ladenthin bundles the results of the historical family research to the following statement which may sound very provocatively to many people: Today, a “trend towards the family” could be identified because “at no other time of the bequeathed history [...] children have stayed so long with their own family” (2004, 4f.). Hans Bertram comes to a similar result: He talks about a “familization of the growing-up of children in our society”: On the one hand, “the percentage of children growing up with both parents is higher or at least as high as on average in this [the 20th; E.M.] century”; and on the other hand, “the number of children who are housed outside the family, i.e. in nurseries or in other institutions”, has decreased (Bertram, 1995, 20). Ladenthin concludes: “Hence, the historical look back might help to de-ideologize the idea of the “family” and to show that our ideal of the family has never existed, at least not in the past” (5).

Some scientists point to the fact that the family consisting of several generations – implored as the prevailing pattern of the past – is also a phenomenon of the present. Hans Bertram has coined the term of the “multi-local family consisting of several generations”:

Increasingly longer lifetimes and an increasing mobility lead to the fact that family members spend only the smaller part of their life together, living in the same



household. The greater part of the lives of parents and children occurs multi-locally in different places without breaking off the relationships between the generations (Bertram, 1995, 15).

The educationalist Eckart Liebau writes:

Without a doubt, in the course of the social modernization the family has clearly changed. The first and most important condition is the striking lengthening of life-expectations. This leads to a family with three generations getting normal for the first time in history and even a family with four generations no longer being an exception (Liebau, 1996, 14).

Only some pages further, he explains: “Naturally, these three or even four generations live only very seldom all together. But although the family members live in different places, that does not change their membership” (21) – but in my opinion, the conception of the family is here expanded in a way that it runs the risk to become less clear, in contrast to the definitions by Nave-Herz and Macha. But the trend of Liebau’s argumentation is still interesting:

The social modernization and the enormous lengthening of life-expectations which is combined with it, do not at all only lead to an individualization [as the probably most prominent German representatives Beck and Beck-Gernsheim would put it; E. M.], but they lead at the same time to new family structures in families with three, four or even five generations (1997, 19).

Trutz von Trotha expresses it more cautiously:

Families consisting of several generations will probably become more important if one considers the relationships between single mothers or fathers and their parents or one of them [...]. Yet, the distinction of the households is mostly maintained so that one can talk about a “supplementary family” consisting of several generations (1990, 453).

**The examination of current schoolbooks for social studies which I have conducted until now shows the following problems/deficits/reductions with regard to the socio-scientific views I have outlined.**

***A clear definition of the conception of the “family” on which the following elaborations are based is missing***

In the schoolbook for social studies *Mensch und Politik [People and Politics]*, Hannover 2004, the following two pictures are shown under the heading “Family life”: a family consisting of three generations without father and grandfather and a homosexual couple. The children can only be confused by that as: a homosexual couple *without* children is no family – unless one extends the conception of the family so far that it becomes totally unclear and cannot serve as a category of description any longer. Why there isn’t shown a homosexual couple *with* children? In the schoolbook *Zur Sache Sozialkunde [To the Point: Social Studies]*, Berlin 2001, a plurality of quantitatively equal family types is suggested: “Today, there is a

great variety of family types: married and unmarried couples with children, single parents and families which are newly formed by remarriage” (30f.). Then follows a sentence which may not be easy to understand for schoolchildren: “Nevertheless, the old ideal of the nuclear family still exists”. It might be concluded from this sentence that a development towards the extended family has been described before... After that, a passage from the book by Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim which I mentioned above, *What Comes After the Family? Insights into New Ways of Life*, is quoted – a statement which is everything else than undisputed; it deals with “Continuation Marriages and Congenialities”. Suggestions to reflect critically upon the heading, for example, are missing. The conclusion runs as follows – and it is not very satisfactory as it does not lead to clarity of thought –:

The family is still the most important basic form of social life. But the conception of the family is exposed to great changes and presents itself less and less homogeneous. Considering the high numbers of divorces and of exchanges of partners, new family types are increasing. Today, many children and juveniles are already members of two families (31)

– with that the criterion that a common household is part of the conception of the family is given up tacitly; besides, an a-historical understanding is offered again. *Sozialkunde 1, Schulbuch für Sachsen-Anhalt [Social Studies 1, Schoolbook for Sachsen-Anhalt]*, Hannover 2001, assumes that family members belong to the same household; it says:

Each family organizes its family life differently. In some families, the father and the mother have a job and share the domestic work. Single and working mothers master their job, their household, and the upbringing of their children all alone because a father does only exist once a month. Family is changing (8).

It is suggested once again that the numbers of couple-parents and of single parents are nearly the same. On the contrary, the authors of *Mitgestalten [Taking Part]*, Troisdorf 2003, write: “The predominant form of living together is the nuclear family. Normally, it is consisting of the wife, the man, and the adolescent, not yet independent children” (13f.); the use of the definite article is certainly irritating in this context. Then we read: “As the whole society changes and develops, the same happens to the family. More “new forms of living together” develop and become established beside the traditional family type” (*ibid.*) – suggesting by the use of the term „traditional“ that there was a long-lasting form which existed for generations and ignoring once again the results of the historical family research. This is pursued by a very blunt formulation: “Mainly due to the fall in the birth-rate and the rise of the divorce-rate, it is expected that the family will disband soon” – here starts a sudden gossip about a crisis which is not at all socio-scientificly covered and which had to be thought through with all consequences: What does the prediction of the disbanding of the family mean respectively how do the authors interpret it? That no more children will be born or that they will no longer be educated? Or both? That the whole society is threatened by destruction? But in the next sentence, the text says – reassuringly? –: “The family is the most consistent form of living together. It

is very important for the development and for the life of human beings and is regarded as a basic value of our society” (*ibid.*). What are pupils expected to take home from such an ambivalent depiction? To put one’s trust in the teachers that they will fix it, would be too short-sighted – not least with regard to such a complex and emotionally charged topic like the family today.

***The fact that there is no distinction between the plurality of family types and the plurality of ways of life without children leads to a distorted perception***

In the schoolbook *Demokratie heute, Politik und Wirtschaft. Realschule Hessen [Democracy Today, Politics, and Economy. Junior High School Hesse]*, Hannover 2004, we read:

In the last decades, there were changes within the field of the family in Germany which can be described by the following keywords. In our society, less and less children grow up. More and more married couples remain childless. Children live only in about one in four households. The number of single-person households has strongly increased, especially because more and more people want to live as singles voluntarily (30)

– a statement, by the way, which does not stand up to empirical data in *that* form (cp. Peuckert, 2004, 57ff.). Further in the schoolbook text, it says:

Compared to former times, distinctly fewer children belong to large families today. More and more families are breaking up. In 1960, not even one in ten couples divorced, but nowadays the number is higher than one in three. The number of single-parents has more than doubled in the last thirty years. Nine of ten single-parents are women. The number of illegitimate children is increasing. The proportion of illegitimate long-term relationships is also rising strongly (*ibid.*).

In the schoolbook *Mitgestalten, Ausgabe Sachsen, Lehr- und Arbeitsbuch für Sozialkunde an beruflichen Schulen [Taking Part, Edition for Saxony, Text- and Schoolbook for Social Studies at Vocational Schools]*, 2003, the following varieties are subsumed under the heading “The new ways of life” – which are not at all only “new” as I have shown with regard to the relevant literature: “Modernized families”: two-income family; weekend-family; family with house husband; family with childminder; “New parents”: single mothers; single fathers; homosexual couples with child(ren); childless persons: singles; childless marriage or partnership; weekend relationship; gay and lesbian partnership; “patchwork ways of life”: step-families or continuation families; open communes and relationships“ – from this depiction – especially without exact figures and thus suggesting that the proportions are alike – results a very colourful picture of the social life in Germany which has very little in common with the social reality, not even in German cities.

***The schoolbooks still present the myth of the pre-industrial extended family (consisting of several generations)***

Two examples for that: In *Sozialkunde 1 [Social Studies 1], Klasse 8 [8th Form]*, Hannover, 2001, *Schulbuch für Sachsen-Anhalt [Schoolbook for Saxony-Anhalt]*, it says:

The family life depends on the social conditions. In former times, people mostly lived in extended families in rural areas [...] The technical progress and the industrial development had effects on the family [...] The extended family in which several generations had lived together turned into the nuclear family. It consists only of parents and their children [...]. The relationships between many grandparents and their children and grandchildren are different today. Many children see their grandparents only seldom because they live far away from them. Today, the nuclear family has become normal. Everything is aligned with the nuclear family (15).

In *Demokratie heute 7. Politik und Wirtschaft. Hessen Realschule [Democracy Today, Politics, and Economy. Junior High School Hesse]*, Hannover 2004, we read under the heading “The most important facts – very briefly”:

Since the industrialization the family has changed: In former times, the extended family was prevalent: parents, numerous children, grandparents, and unmarried relatives lived and worked together in the same household. Today, the small family (nuclear family) is prevailing. It consists of two generations: parents and children [sic!] (34).

Among the current schoolbooks which I have examined until now, the textbook *Mensch und Politik [People and Politics], 7./8. Schuljahr [7th/8th form]*, Hannover 2004, is the only one which gives the pupils at least a chance to qualify the myth of the pre-industrial extended family and its disbanding. Under the heading “The extended family is still alive – it is as well as never before”, they print an interview with the educationalist Jutta Ecarius who asserts that the extended family has only been “usual” since the 20th century: “Today, most of the grandparents can watch their grandchildren growing up. In former times, this was prevented by high infant mortality and low life expectancy” (26). But as this schoolbook also lacks a definition of its conception of the “family” which forms the basis for the explanations, the pupils depend decisively on the help of the teachers. Those must inform them for instance about the fact that some scientists don’t define the family as a group of relatives who live together in one household, but as a multi-local community. If one wants to regard the schoolbook – according to the emancipatory didactics – as an independent medium for pupils, one can only be dissatisfied with schoolbooks like that.

## **Conclusion**

With regard to their central statements about the family, the current German schoolbooks for civics which I have examined show a noticeable affinity to *those* socio-scientific interpretations which are presented in the most popular scientific terms and which influence the public discourse most of all. Less spectacular

sociological and – in particular – historical perspectives on the family receive only very poor attention in schoolbooks. To stress it more distinctly: The schoolbooks offer more “rhetoric about families” than differentiated results of family research (cp. Lüscher, 1997). With that, schoolbooks do not contribute to an objectification of the discourse about the family. Peculiar elementarized approaches by the authors of schoolbooks which are founded on a differentiated scientific base are searched for in vain. In my opinion the authors should stress the specific functions of the actual family, especially its task of substantial and continuing socialization and in this context the specific developments, challenges and problems within the families, their chances and dangers for the identities of men and women, fathers and mothers and not at last children.

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# **The ‘Personal Exhibition’ as an educational tool in a semi-formal learning setting**

Anne Kahr-Højland

## **Introduction**

This year a new educational reform is being introduced in Danish upper secondary schools. The reform calls for new ways of teaching and so new learning materials are highly demanded. At the same time, science is experiencing a crisis in Denmark, as elsewhere; since young people are choosing the humanities instead of science, the demands on how best to communicate science are intensified.

The present article is related to my on-going Ph.D. project “*Science in semi-formal learning settings – the Personal Exhibition at the Experimentarium*”. The project is closely related to both the new reform and the crisis of science, and consists of two parts - firstly, the design and development of a so-called ‘Personal Exhibition’ (an interactive narrative facilitated by mobile phones) at the Science Centre Experimentarium in Copenhagen; secondly, the investigation of the learning impacts of this Personal Exhibition. The Personal Exhibition is being developed as an educational tool for students from upper secondary schools. The challenge consists in creating learning materials which are educational whilst at the same time taking account of young people’s interests.

As new kinds of educational tools and learning materials are being developed and evaluated for new contexts such as the Experimentarium, the need for precise definitions is getting increasingly urgent. Therefore, the present article will focus on the special kind of learning situation maintained at the Experimentarium which seeks to combine the act of playing and the act of learning – practice which has been commonly referred to, in the educational debate, as *informal learning*.

The Experimentarium, which will serve as an example throughout the article, is a ‘Science Centre’, defined as being a kind of museum made up of interactive exhibits demonstrating scientific and technical topics. In the present article I will argue for the use of the new term “semi-formal learning settings”, since the context of the Experimentarium sets a new frame for students’ learning. I will end the article by pointing out how Augmented Reality supported by mobile technologies may afford learning processes within semi-formal learning settings.

The following section seeks to elucidate the theoretical basis of the special kind of learning setting at the Experimentarium.

## **Semi-formal learning settings**

### ***Informal learning – does such a thing exist?***

Since the concept of informal learning first occurred in the 1950s, it has been used in various definitions by educational researchers from all over the world; in particular the term has been most widely used in, among other countries, the UK, the USA and Australia (Dierking and Falk, 1998; Orfinger, 1998; Smith, 1999; Rennie, 2001; Rennie, 2003; Conner, 2005; Falk, Dierking *et al.* 2005). Coomb (1974) popularized the term ‘Informal learning’ in numerous reports concerning international development. He used the distinction between formal, non-formal and informal learning, stating that formal learning was linked with schools and other kinds of institutionalized education, non-formal was linked to community groups and other organizations, whereas informal learning covered all other forms of learning such as during conversations, the act of playing, reading for pleasure etc. (Coombs and Ahmed, 1974).

### ***Encircling a definition***

Rather than contributing to the on-going discussion of what is the exact definition of the term of informal learning, I will start up another by asking: does it make any sense at all to talk about either informal or non-formal learning? In recent years the focus on the concept of informal learning has increased (Castell and Jenson; Dierking and Falk, 1998; Gardner, 2004). Though the rapidly growing body of research suggests a common perspective, one will find that definitions of the term ‘informal learning’ vary to a significant extent.

For example, one finds various definitions from, “*a lifelong process where by individuals acquire (...) skills and knowledge from daily experience*” (Conner, 1997-2005); to a type of learning that is “*not formally organized into a programme or curriculum*” (Dale and Bell 1999), to simply “*self-directed learning*” (Smith, 1999). Hence Michael Eraut, who has contributed to the ‘informal’ discussion, pleads for the use of the term non-formal instead of informal as the term ‘informal’ is associated with an extremely widespread set of situations concerning human behaviour, discourse, clothing etc. (Eraut, 2000).

### ***Learning is learning***

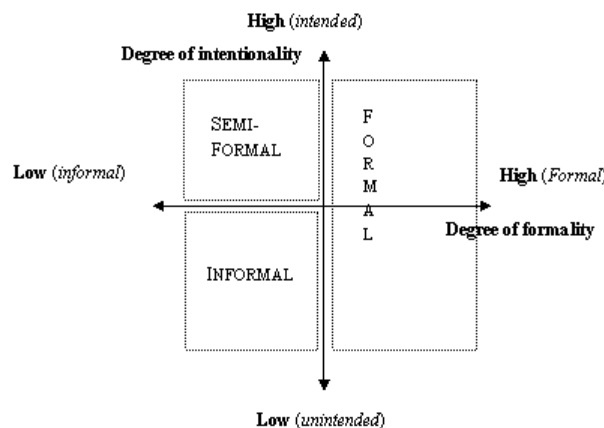
Taking account of the perspectives on learning presented above, I will argue that it is unhelpful to talk about such a phenomenon as informal learning, as learning *is* learning: cognitive and affective processes which are strictly individual and personal. It does not help to define this process as either formal or informal: one knows what one knows. But when we are concerned about the process by which learning happens, it is essential also to consider the setting or context in which it takes place (Roth *et al.*, 1999).

In other words, what does make sense is the consideration of the cultural setting, the environment surrounding and supporting the process of learning – what I will name



the *learning setting*. The setting for learning may be either *formalized* by being part of a curriculum-based learning programme, or the setting for learning may be more or less *informal*. But as all kinds of experiences may lead to individual learning, all places outside school could, in principal, be categorized as potential informal learning settings.

So how does this distinction apply to settings such as a family visit to a place like the Experimentarium? Are science centres to be considered similar to ‘informal’ amusement parks in general? Obviously not, as the Experimentarium – contrary to amusement parks like Tivoli – is thoroughly and consciously presenting information of a special kind (in this case science) in a special way (in this case by means of structured interactive exhibits). The ideas to be learned have been sorted out thoroughly and embedded in a design supporting the communication of that specific information. The intention is to maximise the possibility that individual learners will acquire this knowledge, and maybe, as a result of negotiation and reflection, embed the information as enduring learning. The learning achieved in this way is not curriculum based, and is not to be evaluated after the visit. Thus, this setting places the Experimentarium somewhere in between school (formal) and amusement parks (informal) – in what I will categorize as *semi-formal learning settings*. I propose the following model reflecting three different types of learning settings.



**Figure 1.** Formal, informal and semiformal learning settings represented graphically

The model takes into consideration the parameters of *intentionality* (is the learning occurring with or without intention?) and the degree of *formality* (understood as school/curriculum based learning). *Formal learning settings* determine what happens both intentionally as well as unexpectedly within the framework of a teacher-led, curriculum based education; *informal learning settings* determine what occurs unexpectedly outside the classroom (during conversations, in the playground, walks in the forest etc.) whereas the *semi-formal learning setting* covers the upper

left quadrant in the model, indicating learning that happens intentionally but outside the formal learning environment of school and/or curriculum based education.

### **The Experimentarium as an example of semi-formal settings for learning**

I categorize the Experimentarium as semi-formal due to its structured presentation of scientific ideas with learning in mind. Even if the Experimentarium does not officially confess to having a theoretical basis, it does, however, declare within its foundational policy that the concept of the science centre is grounded on the idea that experience and the act of playing being constituent for the act of learning. Thus, exhibitions based on free-choice interactive exhibits as they are seen at the Experimentarium as in other science centres all over the world, places themselves in direct continuation of the theory of John Dewey, who stated that the process of learning is inseparable from action and experience (Dewey, 1938). Similarly, the concept of hand-on exhibits holds an implicitly confession to what the American psychologist Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi (1997) has defined as the concept of *flow*<sup>11</sup>.

#### ***Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi: the cruciality of intrinsic motivation***

Claiming that the act of playing is essential for the act of learning, Csikszentmihalyi outlines a psychological model illustrating the most conducive settings for enhancing the process of learning. The core of the theory is that we learn through the act of playing. If people are bored, or if they are challenged beyond their skills, they do not learn anything. Therefore the boredom of a child should be considered a warning signal, suggesting that the development of the child is being put at risk (Csikszentmihalyi and Hermanson, 1995; Csikszentmihalyi, 1997). With human evolution as launch pad, Csikszentmihalyi argues that traditional teaching in school, with children calmly sitting on chairs the whole day, is not conducive to the process of learning. Throughout the evolution of man, the human being has developed through activity and movement. Learning through the act of playing and having fun is considered an essential part of the human nature (Csikszentmihalyi, 1997; Knoop 2002).

Csikszentmihalyi draws a crucial distinction between *intrinsic* and *extrinsic* motivation. Apparently we have an inner motivation, an eagerness to learn, incorporated in our nervous system. The only reason why the human being has developed to a significant extent, is curiosity – an intrinsic motivation built in our

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<sup>11</sup> As there is no such thing as an official theoretical strategy or framework for designing new exhibits at the Experimentarium, the exhibits are the result of the individual designer's personal interpretation of the main purpose of the institution, which is: to communicate science with the aim of encouraging young people to take an interest in the subject of science. The two concepts considered essential for the entire place are: the act of playing and the act of learning. Thus, the theoretical foundation presented here is my proposal for a theoretical grounding of the science centre.

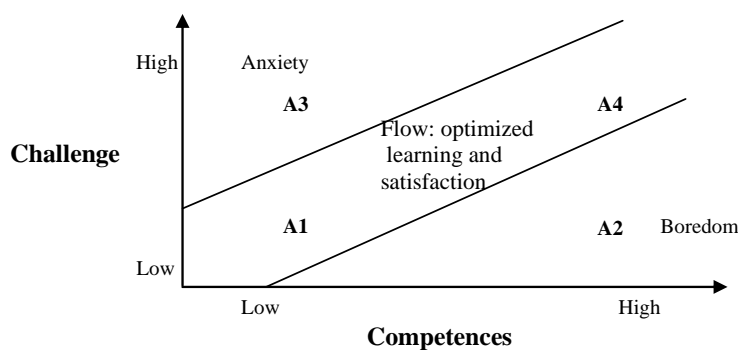
nature, providing an eagerness to learn, to progress. Generally we will be motivated both intrinsically and extrinsically in what we do; as an example we (ideally speaking) go to work because of both the extrinsic motivation (in this case to earn money) and because of the intrinsic motivation (because we find a pleasure in doing what we do at work).

### ***The concept of flow***

To prompt the learning processes, therefore, it will be necessary to encourage the intrinsic motivation of the learner. The learner has to be fully engaged. In this context, Csikszentmihalyi introduces the concept of *flow*. The flow experience is a common experimental state – it is described as

*“a state of mind that is spontaneous, almost automatic, like the flow of a strong current”* (Csikszentmihalyi and Hermanson, 1995)

The concept of flow is illustrated in the model below (the model is my version of the flow-model presented by Csikszentmihalyi in 1975 (Csikszentmihalyi, 1997)).



**Figure 2.** The flow experience

The model expresses how the flow condition occurs when the challenges of the learner and the learner's skills are balanced (condition A1 and A4 in the model). Boredom occurs as a result of under-stimulation, whereas challenges that surpass the skills of the learner will place the learner in a position of anxiety.

Csikszentmihalyi states that *flow* occurs

*“when goals are clear, feedback is unambiguous, challenges and skills are well matched, then all of one's mind and body become completely involved in the activity”* (Csikszentmihalyi and Hermanson, 1995).

Csikszentmihalyi and Hermanson argue that museums should stimulate intrinsic motivation in order to help the audience at museums learn. They suggest that museums have to get their audience “on the hook” and afterwards hold them by establishing advantageous conditions for flow, meaning that the museums have to

present information in a way that provides intrinsic rewards (*ibid.* p. 72). In this respect they are supported by Roberts (Roberts, 1993), who in her theoretical work on museum communication states that the importance of the affective as well as the cognitive domain may have been underestimated.

### ***A critical perspective on the act of playing as a tool for learning***

Critics state that games and entertainment cannot be successfully combined with technical education, as the act of playing will leave no room for the process of negotiating new knowledge into enduring learning. Thus, according to Karnezis, Gadamer has stated that the concept of play (*Spiel*) is defined by something that has its own order and structure to which the actor who plays the game is given over. Once the game is running, it will be the game that plays; the actors just following the rules of the game (Wind, 1976; Karnezis, 1987).

In the case of the Experimentarium, this means that there might be a risk of the visitor being seduced by the act of playing. Once the visitor is playing, (s)he will not reflect on what (s)he is experiencing. Therefore, in the context of semi-formal learning as defined above, I will plead for the necessity of the establishment of *room for reflection* (Bang, 1997). What is meant by *room for reflection* is not a room in a physical sense, rather it is the possibility of negotiating (new) knowledge with oneself or with others. It is a process of reflection prompted by another person or object, and offers an opportunity for bringing the perception of an experience from a state of *tacit knowledge*<sup>12</sup> to a state of *explicit knowledge* (Polanyi, 1962).

The process of reflection itself may either occur as an inner, personal process of negotiation, or it may happen in the frame of what Ann Brown has defined as a *community of learners* (Bransford, Brown *et al.*, 2000).

Obviously, there are many possible ways of urging the establishment of a room for reflection. In the following, I will comment on one of them; the use of Augmented Reality in semi-formal learning settings.

### **Augmented Reality as a learning remedy in semi-formal learning settings**

In order to afford both the flow-experience and the reflective processes I will plead for the potential of a combined use of *interactivity*, *narration* and *virtuality* in semi-formal learning settings – these elements may be joined in what I call *Augmented Reality With an Educational Aim*.

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<sup>12</sup> The concept of *tacit knowledge* was introduced by Michael Polanyi, who among other things made a distinction between *tacit knowledge* and *articulated knowledge*. Tacit knowledge is a kind of knowledge that the learner is not conscious about; for instance, when reading a text, words and linguistic rules function as tacit knowledge, hence the intention of the reader is being focused on the meaning of the text. Only when tacit knowledge is made explicit through language can it be a focus for reflection.

### ***Interactivity***

Bearing the theory about flow experiences as well as Dewey's theory of experience and learning in mind, the interactive exhibits – hands-on exhibits – should be kept at the core at the Experimentarium as well as in other semi-formal learning settings, as action and experience are crucial as regards both the engagement and the intrinsic motivation of the audience in semi-formal learning settings.

Having enduring learning as the ultimate aim, though, it will be necessary to urge the reflective processes; this is why I suggest that interactive exhibits would benefit from being organized according to the structure of a *narrative*.

### ***Narration***

When I plead for using the narrative in semi-formal learning settings it is among other things due to the fact that the narrative has shown to promote and enhance the learning potential in museums (Roberts 1993). Thus, a massive body of research data from the cognitive science has elucidated the fact that the narrative is affording reflective processes in the human being (Labov and Waletzky, 1967, 1997; Bruner, 1986; Kahr-Højland, 2005).

So, the combination of interactivity and narration in semi-formal learning settings may satisfy the demands on both experience and reflection.

### ***Virtuality***

As regards the virtual dimension, it serves to give the visitor a unique and personal experience. Bringing in remembrance the importance of getting the visitor 'on the hook' (Csikszentmihalyi and Hermanson, 1995) the idea is to create an experience affording both the processes of flow and reflection whilst at the same time seeming *relevant* for the visitor. By adding a virtual dimension to a physical exhibition one opens for the possibility of creating several different virtual layers – and thereby several different narratives – to one and the same physical setting. In other words, different visitors, in principle, may have different experiences at the same time in the same physical room.

The virtual dimension may best be described through an example: In 2005 Stephen Dow, Jay David Bolter and their colleagues implemented a virtual add-on to the Oakland Cemeteries (Dow, Lee *et al.*, 2005). When people visited the cemetery they had the possibility of being guided from one grave stone to the other by means of a PDA with head phones connected to it. During the trip around the cemetery the dead were brought back to life through voices of actors who dramatized the lives of the dead. In this way the history of the dead along with the history of the US were revealed for the visitors and in this way an extra dimension were added to the experience at the grave yard. The stories that were told were determined of where the visitor was situated in the cemetery. The Oakland-experience was in other words determined by both the physical setting and the PDAs.

It is this kind of Augmented Reality in combination with interactive exhibits I propose as learning remedy in science centres and other kinds of semi-formal learning settings.

In the last part of this article I will briefly comment on The Personal Exhibition – an example of this new type of Augmented Reality – as well as the perspectives of using the mobile phone in this respect.

### **The Personal Exhibition as an example of Augmented Reality in a semi-formal learning setting**

The Personal Exhibition (which will open at the Experimentarium in the autumn 2006) seeks to combine the already existing interactive exhibits with the narrative and the virtual dimension in an Augmented Reality with an educational aim, similar to the one described above.

In the Personal Exhibition people will be guided through the exhibition by means of their own mobile phones. The exhibition functions like this: When the visitor arrives at the Experimentarium (s)he will get the opportunity of signing up for the Personal Exhibition by using the mobile phone. From this point the visitor will be led through the exhibition at the Experimentarium, guided by a voice in his/her ear. The voice will lead him/her into a narrative where the visitor himself will take up the main part. Similar to a computer game, the narrative consists of three different levels which the visitor can run through. The Personal Exhibition thus combines the interactive exhibits, the narrative and computer games, that is the virtual dimension.

The medium combining the parts in this Augmented Reality is the user's own mobile phone.

#### ***The mobile phone as the central medium***

One of the main reasons why the mobile phone is chosen as the technical device for this Augmented Reality is that it benefits from at least two things; firstly, its properties as a handheld computer, secondly, it benefits from being a well-known medium for the visitors in general.

As regards the first perspective, concerning the mobile as a handheld computer, the mobile phone is usually classified as new or digital media. What characterizes this type of media is that they are all based on computer technology.

Many of us are not aware of our own considerable use of computers in our daily lives. When using the vacuum cleaner, the sewing machine, the camera or the toaster only few of us are conscious about using a computer, because we think of ourselves as doing the task, not as using the computer embodied in the artefact (Norman, 1989). Similarly, only few of us are aware of carrying a hand held computer in our pocket, a fully functional computer appearing in the shape of a mobile phone. As Marc Prensky puts it today's high-end cell phones "(...) have the computing power of a mid-1990's PC (...) even the simplest voice-only phones have more complex and

*powerful chips than the 1969 on-board computer that landed a spaceship on the moon*” (Prensky, 2004).

At the same time the mobile is benefiting from being an extremely popular medium. Today most of the visitors at science centres are in possession of mobile phones. The mobile phones as tools play a significant role in most people’s daily life which means that people in general are very familiar with the mobile as a medium. Thus, the mobile represents a hand held computer capable of organizing a narrative, an interactive game play, and at the same time the mobile benefits from being well-known by its users.

In continuation of the critical approach to learning mentioned earlier, one might ask if there is a risk of the mobile ‘disturbing’ the hands-on experience in a way that the active part is pushed to the rear; is the mobile phone in this way preventing the occurrence of the flow experience?

### ***The mobile as a digital showcase***

As clarified initially, this article is primarily theoretical driven; as long as the mobile facilitated exhibition have not been implemented at the Experimentarium, the answer to the question concerning the role of the mobile will have to be a theoretical one. When I do not think that the mobile phone will have a too seductive role in the exhibition it is because the mobile is an example of a long-lasting technology, a tool we use without reflection – with the use of Donald Norman’s term the mobile has turned into a *transparent media*. The mobile has become so familiar to us that we are no longer conscious of our own use of it. This is what Paul Dourish calls the receding of the medium:

*“The most successful technologies are those that recede into the background as we use them, becoming an unannounced feature of the world in which we act”* (Dourish, 2001)

Today, it may seem unlikely that the mobile should recede in this way, but Alison Griffith draws attention to the fact that the display cases when first introduced as a new medium for presenting objects in museums, were exposed to massive criticism as the display cases seemed to steal of the attention from the objects they were supposed to highlight (Griffith, 2003). Inspired by Griffith’s review, the use of the mobile as a facilitator for an Augmented Reality in semi-formal learning settings may be considered a kind of ‘digital display case’, meaning that the mobile initially will be facing the same problems as the display case did when it was first introduced. The digital media account for a new way of highlighting information, the challenge for the mobile is to become as transparent as the – now un-conspicuous – display case.

I therefore see the mobile as an obvious medium for introducing Augmented Realities with educational aims at science centres and other semi-formal learning settings.

## Concluding remarks

This theoretical article focuses on learning in semi-formal learning settings, which are defined in contrast to formal or informal settings. It takes as its context the Experimentarium as an example of a semi-formal setting for learning, and considers among others Csikszentmihalyi's work on the importance of intrinsic motivation and the concept of flow.

In order to satisfy the demands on both experience and reflection the article presents Augmented Reality – combining interactivity, narration and virtuality - as an advantageous way of organising semi-formal learning settings.

The article closes with the suggestion that the mobile phone might work as a successful means when introducing Augmented Reality in semi-formal learning settings.

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# **The relation between the model reader/-s and the authentic reader/-s. The possibilities for identification when reading curricular texts**

Bente Aamotsbakken

## **Youth identities of today**

In today's educational system young people live in various contexts socially and culturally characterized by a variety of expressions (Drotner, 1995). More frequently than before youth are expressing themselves through pictures and music and through their bodies. More young people are visiting the theatres and spend time dancing, singing and playing music. This is closely linked to the development of electronic media and a global media culture. The changes towards more aesthetic ways of expression must also be seen in connection with the displacement towards a new type of socialization characterized by a narcissistic subject culture (Ziehe, 1989).<sup>1</sup> Ziehe describes the narcissistic psyche as imprinted with imagination and pictures. It is not accompanied by linguistic logic, but appears closer to the pictorial language of dreams and the experience of one's own body. It is therefore more easily expressed through music and dance performance. These observations should lead to the conclusion that text culture in the classroom ought to deal with means and tools of drama teaching methods.

The young student of today's educational system is not only supposed to stage him- or herself, but is simultaneously challenged as a contemplating, reflecting individual. The student faces great demands when it comes to creating a space in a society no longer characterized by industry, but by post-industrial trends. In a society like this former links to local communities and family ties are on the edge of disappearing (Giddens, 1996). The individual is responsible for the development of her own identity or identities in interaction with free relationships with friends and other groups. According to Ziehe, the liberation today is marked by a tendency towards acceptance and equalization of any phenomenon. Consequently, the individual is forced to be in a constant process of growing awareness, in which different choices of what to do and who to be are the characteristics. In addition this process demands a continuous reflection on part of the individual.

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<sup>1</sup> The narcissistic subject culture described by Thomas Ziehe can be compared with views shared by Allan Bloom in the book *The Closing of the American Mind* (1987). Bloom describes students' opinions and values as being characterized by a simple form of relativism; i.e. every individual has the right to develop his or her own existence and way of living based on an individual opinion of what is regarded as essential and valuable. Even though Bloom's aspects are related to an American context, it is reasonable to assume that they have a transfer value to many Western societies.

### **The challenge for textbooks and educational media**

Based on reflections like this we must ask what is demanded of textbooks and educational media in the encounter with young individuals in our classrooms. In Norway we have, over the last decade, experienced a lively debate on the representations of classical texts on the curriculum. In mass media voices condemning the representations of classical texts have attracted a lot of attention, and an oversimplified view on the preferences for modern texts, fictional or non-fictional, has been exaggerated. The classical texts were regarded as destructive when it came to “the pleasure of the text”, so to speak (Barthes, 1975 [1973]). We are facing a new curricular reform in Norway from the year 2006, and the compulsory reading and study of classical texts have been removed. In spite of this change, it is to be expected that the classical literature of fiction and non-fiction will still be given attention in the classrooms. The challenge of these texts from ancient epochs lies in the ability to communicate and mediate these texts to the students. Classical texts like essays, novels, poems and short stories are mostly texts subject to continued interpretation. Consequently, the interpretations of the past place themselves as layers on top of contemporary interpretations and readings and become integrated in them. This is a view represented by the reception aesthetician Hans Robert Jauss (1997 [1991]).

All texts, fictional and non-fictional, included in textbooks cannot be viewed *qua* text, but only in an educational context. Consequently, the reading roles and attitudes differ from the corresponding roles and attitudes belonging to voluntary reading or any reading, in your leisure time. Reading in school is special because the student is faced with demands and claims to learn and develop himself through reading and interpretation. Texts that in some way or another correspond with biographical narratives similar to the student’s own are most likely to gain response. On the other hand, texts that arouse fantasy and imaginations may also be attractive.

The Norwegian philosopher Hans Skjervheim has an anthropological view that is interesting regarding possibilities for identification and the creation of identity related to textbooks and texts used in an educational context (Skjervheim, 1964, 1996). Skjervheim postulated that the individual always experiences himself or herself in accordance with the way he or she appears. The individual is born with the ability to create his or her own identity, partly due to the fact that he or she inherits and simultaneously creates his or her own identity by interpreting culture and traditions. The interpretation does not take place in a vacuum, but Skjervheim regards it as a free and independent process. The interpretation has, of course, a starting point, but cannot be related to extra-contextual factors. It is freedom, not fact, according to Skjervheim. This view is rather demanding when it comes to the textbook genres and their connection with the possibilities for identification for young students. Positivistically oriented textbooks have in my opinion neglected such reflections.

The creation of identity, singular and plural, is a process with more or less awareness on the part of the student. The reading and the interpreting texts in a school context add to this process, but the student is normally much more focused on establishing various identities outside of the educational context. According to Ziehe, this process is constant, but the awareness and the attention differ. It is consequently worth while looking into opinions on how identity is created and how dependently or independently this is taking place. Such investigations should be connected to the study of texts used in a school context because textual interpretation is an essential activity in the process towards a mature identity.

In a school context it is interesting to examine the identity creating functional texts, an identity in transition from childhood and youth to adult life. The imagination and the creativity are also stimulated by reading, writing and other activities related to texts. In this context the fictional texts are of even greater significance than the short factual texts. This is due to the fact that fictional texts are often quite extensive, these are texts that you return to for interpretation, for discussion, i.e. they are texts that keep your mind busy. This is not to the same degree the case when it comes to for instance newspaper articles, internet texts or illustrated texts. In school there is still room for the interpretation of texts, the examination of various other textual aspects and their multiple structures. Therefore the selection of texts for school use is essential. The central texts in the school (the school canon) have many consequences for later literary preferences, both written and oral proficiency as well as their connection with alternative cultural expressions. We also have to take into account that it is our encounter with school texts that creates our relationship with text cultures. The school texts are supposed to form a common basis for the public. That is why we can claim that the school canon is the most important of all canons. In the shaping of a student's identity these are probably the texts that are of the highest importance.

According to Charles Taylor a modern understanding of identity implies that the individual cannot be an 'isolated self' (Taylor, 1998). The identity in his perspective is created in interaction with other individuals, and the process towards the shaping of identity of young students is marked by inter-linguistic activities. In educational contexts these activities often have to do with reading and interpretation of texts, a process characterized by mutual interest and cooperation. Taylor stresses the idea of identity as being something inward, individual and authentic, but at the same time the idea is connected to the ideal of interaction among individuals and respect for other human beings. In other words his ethics implies a criticism of extreme individualism. This perspective therefore creates a sharp contrast to the modern culture of self-realization as described, among others, by Allan Bloom. Related to the situation among students today we may add that the ideal of mutual respect and understanding should imply that textbooks and anthologies for school use offers a balanced representation of texts; i.e. texts that are constructive for the identity of both males and females. In this context it is relevant to offer some reflections on the process of identity creation as there are views that differ in this respect.

In relation to views represented by Charles Taylor it is worth while to looking into the connection to reflections of Seyla Benhabib. She has discussed Taylor's view on this issue and has modified and developed it (Benhabib, 1992, 1997).<sup>2</sup> Seyla Benhabib sees the 'self' as situated, which means that the autonomous and reflecting subject always activates itself in an inter-subjective context. The 'self' is created in interaction with others and the surrounding society. An 'ego' or an 'I' always relates to a 'we'.<sup>3</sup> Benhabib's theoretical theses are to a certain extent answering the question of the significance of human experience in universal ethics. She especially stresses the importance of experiences of being vulnerable due to gender, class or race. Here we might add the factor of age; the pupils at different school levels are too often experience a lack of understanding and consequently meaningful readings and interpretation of texts. Texts chosen for the pupils with no regard to their preferences or wishes are of no avail when it comes to the constitution of identity. Then the texts may be 'closed'<sup>4</sup> and consequently of no further learning potential or pleasure.

This view on identity, which has its basis in communicative ethics, is highly relevant for pupils and students. School as an educational institution forms an important framework and a place for identity-constructing activities. Within this framework the individual continually relates to various activities. Such an important activity may be the study of literary texts with questions about fictional characters and problems of identity. In this light literary texts for school use are communicating two messages. In relationship to the ethical view of Taylor and Benhabib it is possible to claim that an identity can be created through the reading of literary texts, linked to both identity and other aspects of living a meaningful life. Benhabib, however, has criticized Taylor for having quite extensively linked his understanding of identity to norms and values. Benhabib is of the opinion that there is a division

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<sup>2</sup> The views represented by Charles Taylor and Seyla Benhabib have been more thoroughly discussed by my colleague, Solveig Østrem, who has published scientific articles based on their theories. Østrem has inspired me to read and deal with the views in Taylor's and Benhabib's work.

<sup>3</sup> Seyla Benhabib sees Taylor's ideas as compatible with the new-hegelian insight of the situating of the 'self'. She also relates to Michel Foucault's view on "the construction of the self" (Benhabib, 1997).

<sup>4</sup> Here the term 'closed texts' is related to Umberto Eco's distinction between open and closed texts; the latter being texts with no further potential for interpretation. To a great extent Eco's term 'closed texts' are applied to texts belonging to genres of popular culture, like novels or films created just for amusement and relaxation. On the other hand the polar term, 'open texts' is used for texts challenging its readers with a spectre of explicit and implicit codes, intertextuality and a complicated structure; i.e. they are texts open for interpretation (Eco, 1979).

In this context I have therefore to a certain extent misused or displaced the meaning of the term 'closed' as I have used it connected with texts that are of dubious value when it comes to the construction of identity for your people. In this respect such texts can be experienced as closed by the pupils, and on the other hand the same texts can form an obstacle to intellectual development.

line between identity and way of living. In her essay “The Sources of the ego in feminist theory” Benhabib discusses the radical constructionism related to post-structural feminism (Benhabib, 1997).

### **Reading roles and textual positions**

Over the years I have been occupied with the study of various reader-response theories linked to reception-aesthetics and pure reception theories. A common feature sensed in different contributions to this field of research lies in my opinion in the awareness of the gap between the possibilities for reading embedded in the text qua text and the authentic reading process performed in a school context. This gap or interval is one of creation and imagination, something to be filled with various interpretative activities, or on the contrary, to be neglected and ignored if the school texts are without any further attraction. It is in this gap, which is on one hand connected with temporal factors and on the other hand related to the production of meaning, that an “extra” text is created. This is a text created within the student’s mind, nourished by his imagination and accompanied by his various experiences with other texts or expressions of art, expressions that I commented on above. The interval should be given attention by teachers and producers of textbooks and other educational media. I just want to mention Stanley Fish’s text “Is there a text in this classroom?”, because I see this extreme wording as precise and relevant when it comes to student’s interpretations or ‘extra texts’ (Fish, 1980).

According to Wolfgang Iser there is always an implied reader in a text, and for textbooks this instance must be seen as double (Iser, 1972). The relation between the so-called implied reader and the authentic reader is always of importance, but in connection with textbooks, this relation is a complicated one. This is due to the fact that the student has to respond to the text in the textbook as text and simultaneously to the textual frame, i.e. the textbook concept, with its extra-textual tools, such as exercises, didactical questions etc. The student is in a way forced to have a double focus when reading and interpreting. This fact may add positively to the creation of the extra text, but it could easily have the opposite result. The text could, in Eco’s term, ‘collapse’. According to Iser, a paradigm consisting of textual opposites could be of interest. According to Wolfgang Iser claims that texts incorporated in textbooks have like any other texts two poles, the artistic and the aesthetic (Iser, 1976). The aesthetic pole is linked to the reading process and the realization of the text by the reader, whereas the artistic pole refers to the creation of the text. Here it is relevant to refer to Umberto Eco’s term ‘model reader’ since this reader is a result of a conscious plan by the author of the text.

Wolfgang Iser underlines that reading is only connected with pleasure and awareness when it is active and creative. In other words, the challenges of the aesthetic pole are vital. Thus the “unwritten” parts of the text will stimulate the reader’s creative mind. The unwritten parts are the same as referred to above as an “extra” text or at least a contribution in this respect. Besides, the written text in many ways limits the extra text. On the other hand, the expectations to the text may

not always be complied with. The reading process can be characterized as a kaleidoscope of perspectives, pre-intentions and recollections. The process may of course be blocked, and, according to Roman Ingarden, this may be the result of indignation or surprise during the reading (Ingarden, 1973, 1989). In a school context it is essential that the blocking is used creatively and extensively because when the reading process comes to a halt, the reader has the opportunity to establish his or her own references, fill in holes discovered in the text and make inferences. The creation of the extra text will therefore reflect the disposition of the reader and add to his or her sense of reality. The process of reading and interpretation, will in creating the extra text, at the same time create a reality different from the reader's own. Paradoxically the reader must therefore find hidden personal qualities in order to perceive a reality beyond his own reality. In a way the reader must forget about his or her own world to be able to participate in the alternative and adventurous reality offered in the text.

The ability to benefit from the reading process in this way differs from individual to individual. According to Northrop Frye all texts contain elements of escapism as a result of illusions created by the reader (Frye, 1957). But, if reading only should create illusions, the reader is victimized and cheated on. It is through the reading process that the temporary nature of the illusions becomes apparent. The reader consequently alternates between entering into an illusion and observing it from the outside so to speak. The ability to alternate between these two roles or positions is a decisive factor of the creation of identity. The aptitude to absorb the unknown and unfamiliar is often referred to as 'identification', which in Iser's terminology, is similar to the reader's identification with the text he is reading. This is of course a view on identification that is rather reductive and restrictive. In my view identification has to do with the creation of different aspects of identity, and in the process of reading the identity is developed and nourished through the text read, but also through other accompanying impacts from the surroundings.

### **Reading and identity**

All texts, independent of their incorporation in textbooks or other textual surroundings, consist of ideas developed by somebody else. By reading the reader enters into a position in which reflection and development may take place. The reader in a way takes charge of both the ideas and the reflection, and in this way the distinction subject-object is reduced, a distinction always to be found in all observation and cognition. This is what makes the process of reading so unique in gaining new knowledge. On the other hand, it is also the reason for a misjudgement, i.e. that the world incorporated in texts is analogue to identification. Referring to Poulet, Iser underlines that the 'I' in a text, is not the personal 'I' (Poulet, 1969). In this context 'I' should also like to draw attention to a statement by Roland Barthes, who stresses that the 'I' of a text is just a 'paper-I' (Barthes, 1989).

All readers, inside or outside of a school context, have certain expectations towards a text. Not always are these expectations fulfilled. If most of the expectations,



however, are met with, the reader probably will perceive the didactical and intentional perspectives of the text. What is perceived through the reading of the text enters into the memory and may later emerge and be transferred to a different context. In this way unpredictable associations may occur. The reader may establish connections between the past, the present and the future. On the other hand, the text may block the reading from time to time. This blocking may occur due to indignation or surprise caused by the text. The blocking must however, be overcome if the reading is to continue. Fictional texts are often characterized by unexpected turns and restructuring, and they may therefore cause frustration and broken expectations. Even the simple story may contain possibilities for blocking. This is due to the fact that no story can be told absolute exhaustively. If the current reading is interrupted, the reader is however, given the opportunity to establish his own connections and to cover the holes left by the text. The so-called holes in the text (*Leerstellen*) have certain implications on the process of expectation and retrospection. The holes may be filled in various ways, and consequently no reading can realize or exhaust the complete potential of the text. The reader is filling in the holes or the spaces in his own way and has to yield to the full contents of the text. In traditional texts the process is almost unconscious, but in modern and post-modern texts this turns out differently. For instance, fragmented texts are demanding because the reader constantly tries to create connections between the various fragments. For students in the secondary school or higher education the process linked to the extra text is harder to deal with than ordinary or traditional texts.

Reading is normally characterized by a dialectical structure, and the need to decode it gives us the opportunity to formulate our own decoding capacity. In other words the reader is confronted with aspects of his existence that were previously concealed and unconscious. Thus reading makes the reader capable of formulating the unformulated. In ancient Alexandria the word 'studium' had the implication of effort and eagerness to learn. It is in my opinion the extra text created through the reading process that can strengthen the concept of 'studium' under optimal conditions. Interpretation implies efforts connected with decoding and coping with the readability of the text. Today the attention is linked to the rhetorical expression 'sensus spiritualis' more than 'sensus litteralis'. The principle of 'sensus spiritualis' implies a reading concentrated on creating a relevant textual meaning for the contemporary and future readers. The principle does indeed imply further allegorical interpretation, not an interpretation searching for the literal meaning of the text. An interpretation based on the principle of 'sensus spiritualis' makes all texts dependent on a context, which in turn makes it evident that the interpretation always relates to other texts. Hans Robert Jauss' statement implying that interpretations of the past place themselves as layers on top of the contemporary interpretation makes me want to add that reading and interpretation thus must be seen as a process pointing both backwards and forwards. This means that in the student's reading process both identification and the vivid construction of the extra text contribute to the creation of an identity. Traces from the past, traditions and conventions, are necessary in an inter-play with the expressions of today's youth culture. I would once more like to

draw attention to Skjervheim's conviction that the individual is free in the sense that his or her identity is constructed based on heritage and interpretation.

I have only touched Umberto Eco's model reader as a term, but the two main types of model readers are in my opinion too imprecise categories regarding student as readers. Johan L. Tønnesson is a scholar who has worked on Eco's concept of the model reader (Tønnesson, 2004). According to Tønnesson, a text offers a great number of model readers. In my view Tønnesson's attempt is interesting, but rather theoretical and not easy to use. Instead of dealing with the model reader in text interpretation, I think it is more fascinating to reflect on the extra text created during the process of reading and interpretation. The text is consequently a product which in turn can be related to Eco's term model reader due to the fact that the extra text is the mixture of codes integrated in the text and the codes originating from contemporary cultural expressions. According to Eco, the reader is simultaneously given new competence based on his or her existing competence when reading the text. If this basic competence is too limited, the text will collapse. Consequently, both the original text and the extra text which is created are dependent on a balance of codes which can be decoded and these codes bring new knowledge and competence. Eco's distinction between open and closed texts is of course linked to this balance, but most texts in an educational context are mixtures of open and closed texts. Purely open texts are hardly seen in textbooks, and this is also the case in the closed texts of the popular culture. Texts revealing a mixture of open and closed are in other words typically educational texts. Earlier my suggestion was to be aware of the double nature of these texts, and the double claim on the student is to deal with both the text itself and the contextual elements of the textbook. The creation of the extra text may therefore be seen as related to a double filtration. Thus it is the extra text that deserves attention both theoretically and practically when we occupy ourselves with students' reading process and its impact on the creation of identity.

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## **Les catalogues rétrospectifs de manuels scolaires sur internet, indispensables outils de recherche pour les historiens**

Paul Aubin

Le manuel scolaire risque, d'ici quelques années, d'être complètement chamboulé suite à l'apparition des nouvelles technologies qui se retrouvent coiffées sous le vocable « internet ». Or la même révolution technologique qui chambarde complètement la production des nouveaux outils pédagogiques a aussi des effets significatifs sur l'analyse des anciens manuels scolaires. Un certain nombre de pays ont mis sur pied des groupes de recherche sur l'histoire de leurs livres d'école et ces derniers nous offrent le résultat de leurs recherches, toujours en développement, par le truchement de sites web.

Une vingtaine de centres de recherche localisés dans une douzaine de pays, essentiellement d'Europe de l'ouest et des Amériques, nous donnent accès à leurs catalogues, que ce soit des collections nationales (site offrant une vue d'ensemble de la production d'un territoire donné), des collections thématiques ou des collections locales (site décrivant le contenu d'une bibliothèque spécifique). Même lorsqu'ils ont une portée limitée - telle collection ou tel thème -, ces sites permettent aux chercheurs étrangers de savoir ce qui se fait ailleurs et surtout d'entrevoir des liens jusque là insoupçonnés entre pays parfois de langues étrangères.

Les quelques textes qui suivent s'inscrivent illustrent ce phénomène.

### **La banque Emmanuelle (Alain Choppin)**

Interrogeable en ligne sur le site de l'Institut national de recherche pédagogique, la banque de données Emmanuelle vise à recenser l'intégralité des manuels scolaires publiés en France depuis la Révolution, quels que soient la discipline et le niveau d'enseignement.

Il ne s'agit pas d'un instrument bibliographique classique, mais d'un outil de recherche qui vise à l'exhaustivité : chaque notice réfère non à une édition particulière, mais à l'ensemble des éditions - souvent nombreuses - d'un même ouvrage décrites dans les bibliographies et/ou présentes dans les principales collections nationales. Il s'agit donc d'une approche synthétique, quasi « biographique », de l'objet manuel qui s'inscrit dans une problématique scientifique très ouverte : chaque notice intègre une série d'informations qui offrent à l'utilisateur une multiplicité d'accès qui n'entrent pas dans les usages du catalogage (la discipline scolaire, la filière et le niveau d'enseignement, la durée de vie éditoriale, etc.).

A ce jour, 30 000 notices sont accessibles sur internet (soit environ 100 000 éditions différentes), ce qui correspond à la production des manuels scolaires de langues anciennes (latin et grec), de langues vivantes (allemand, anglais, espagnol et italien), d'histoire et de géographie sur plus de deux siècles. La production de cette banque s'inscrit dans un programme plus vaste qui traite notamment de l'histoire de la réglementation et de la production, mais aussi de l'histoire des maisons d'édition scolaires et de l'historiographie des manuels.

Le programme Emmanuelle est l'initiative la plus ancienne, mais depuis le début des années 1990, plusieurs projets d'ampleur nationale, voire internationale ont vu le jour, se référant, explicitement le plus souvent, au modèle français. Les initiatives les plus récentes concernent la production brésilienne, avec le programme *Livres*, coordonné par l'Université de São Paulo, et la production italienne, avec le programme *Edisco*, coordonné par l'Université de Macerata. Un recensement partiel des collections uruguayennes (Musée pédagogique de Montevideo) est également accessible sur cédérom. Enfin, un projet de banque de données paneuropéenne (interrogation *multiopac*), dont l'origine remonte à 2001, est actuellement en cours de réalisation à l'Université de Turin.

Outre les bibliographies ou catalogues de fonds spécialisés accessibles à ce jour sur internet, les chercheurs disposent principalement de trois types de sources :

- les catalogues en ligne des grandes bibliothèques nationales, universitaires ou interuniversitaires qui, lorsqu'elles procèdent à l'indexation de leurs collections, confondent souvent contenu intellectuel et type de documents : le descripteur *textbook*, qui ne devrait concerner que les documents qui traitent des manuels, recense de fait nombre de manuels ;
- les catalogues ou bibliographies spécialisés imprimés, dont la mise en ligne pourrait être envisagée (c'est le cas des riches collections du Georg-Eckert Institut, par exemple) ;
- les bibliographies, limitées à un domaine ou une période donnés, mais visant souvent à l'exhaustivité, qui figurent en annexe des productions universitaires, masters, PhD ou thèses. A titre indicatif, nous avons ainsi pu « repérer » plus de deux cents publications particulièrement significatives émanant de quarante-cinq pays, mais il y en a bien davantage.

### **An initiative for the integration of European and Latin American schoolbook databases. Manes research centre and patre-manes network (Kira Mahamud)**

**MANES Research Centre** (<http://www.uned.es/manesvirtual/portalmanes.html>)

MANES stands for *MANuales EScolares* (School Textbooks). The project was born in 1992 at the National Distance University (UNED) in Madrid, with a dual group of objectives:

- a) Instrumental objectives, on the one hand: to compile and classify Spanish schoolbooks from the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, as well as other type of relevant documents: legislation concerning school textbooks, academic programmes.
- b) Research objectives, on the other hand: to examine, study and analyse school textbooks from various angles and from a historical perspective.

It was inspired by the French programme EMMANUELLE, whose Director is Alain Choppin, and its creation was partly possible thanks to an agreement with the latter. During the 1990's various universities from Spain (Murcia, Valladolid, Complutense de Madrid), Portugal, France (Tours) and Latin America (1996) (19 Universities) joined the project. This was a sign of MANES' initial success and growth. Together with the database, a *special collection* of school textbooks was deposited in the Central Library of the National Distance University. However, the turning point for the MANES project took place in the year 2001, when the web page for the Research Centre was created.

Some sections of the home page are referred to as "live pages" because they are continuously being updated:

- a) Schoolbooks Database. It currently contains about 17.000 entries
- b) On line libraries: Photographed schoolbooks.
- c) Bibliography: All publications on school textbooks (books, articles, book chapters), which can be consulted by country.
- d) Books published within the MANES collection.
- e) Thematic expositions: Essays and studies on various topics related to schoolbooks.

#### ***PATRE-MANES network***

In 2004 eight members of the MANES Research Centre: Spain (Madrid), Portugal (Lisboa), Belgium (Leuven and Gent) and Latin America (Argentina, México, Colombia) elaborated the PATRE- MANES project. PATRE stands for *PATRimonio Escolar* (School Heritage). With financial aid from the ALFA programme (Academic Education in Latin American), a cooperation program between the European Union and Latin America for higher education, the network was created. The main objectives of this network are

- a) Constructing a common on line database
- b) Creating on line libraries
- c) Promoting comparative studies

The MANES Research Centre has grown and expanded in various directions. On line databases prove to be an essential tool and aid in the research on school textbooks. Together with the creation of such a large database, MANES and now the PATRE - MANES network, has propelled and promoted research on school textbooks.

## **Le catalogage et la mise en valeur des fonds de manuels scolaires à l'institut national de recherche pédagogique (Philippe Marcerou)**

Depuis quelques années, l'Institut national de recherche pédagogique (INRP) a pris l'habitude de considérer que les collections de documents et d'objets qu'il conserve dans sa bibliothèque, située à Lyon, et au Musée national de l'éducation, situé à Rouen, constituent un ensemble documentaire homogène.

### ***La deuxième collection française de manuels scolaires***

La bibliothèque de l'INRP rassemble et conserve un fonds de manuels scolaires que l'on peut estimer à plus de 80000 unités : cette collection est complétée par les 70000 manuels que possède le Musée national de l'éducation à Rouen. Au total, on peut estimer que ces 150000 exemplaires correspondent à plus de 100000 titres différents. Ces collections couvrent l'ensemble des disciplines d'enseignement et l'ensemble des niveaux de l'enseignement primaire et secondaire depuis la Révolution française, tandis que le niveau universitaire y est peu présent.

La richesse des collections s'explique par l'histoire du Musée pédagogique, fondé en 1879, et celle des organismes qui lui ont succédé jusqu'à ce jour. En effet, aux collections initiales constituées empiriquement par Ferdinand Buisson et par les premiers responsables du Musée pédagogique, sont venus s'ajouter progressivement des dons et surtout, à partir de 1926, les volumes issus du dépôt légal des éditeurs. Le fait que le dépôt légal constitue le cœur des collections de manuels et qu'il soit complété par des dons réguliers permet de conclure que la collection de manuels scolaires conservée à l'INRP est très large, même si elle demeure moins complète que celle de la Bibliothèque nationale de France.

### ***Signalement et catalogage des fonds de manuels scolaires***

Le travail réalisé par le Service d'histoire de l'éducation au travers de la base bibliographique et signalétique EMMANUELLE est connu et reconnu au plan international. Depuis 25 ans, les publications et le travail de bibliographie réalisés par le Service d'histoire de l'éducation, notamment sous la direction d'Alain Choppin, ont abouti à la constitution d'une base considérable : pour un nombre désormais important de disciplines, la base EMMANUELLE recense à présent l'ensemble des éditions de manuels scolaires qui ont existé et les localise dans différentes bibliothèques et centres documentaires (bibliothèque de l'INRP, Musée national de l'éducation, Bibliothèque nationale de France, etc.).

Le travail de catalogage des fonds documentaires du musée et de la bibliothèque se place en creux et en complément de la base EMMANUELLE. En effet, il vise à recenser, pour toutes les disciplines, toutes les éditions disponibles dans les fonds documentaires de la bibliothèque et du musée. Pour ce qui concerne la bibliothèque, il s'attache à respecter les normes internationales de catalogage telles qu'elles découlent du format d'échange UNIMARC.



Il est paradoxal de noter que, jusqu'en 2004, les manuels scolaires étaient globalement peu présents dans les catalogues informatiques de la bibliothèque (moins de 5 000 notices) et du Musée national de l'éducation (20 000 notices) ; de surcroît, les notices bibliographiques de manuels scolaires étaient peu nombreuses et parfois lacunaires. A partir de 2004, l'INRP a donc décidé de mener à son terme le catalogage des manuels scolaires qu'il possède. Pour cela, par la passation d'un marché public (420 000), il s'est attaché une société de services spécialisée qui réalise les notices, sous le contrôle et l'encadrement des équipes de bibliothécaires et de documentalistes en place. A ce jour, à la bibliothèque de l'INRP, 48 177 manuels ont été catalogués en 14 mois : la fin du chantier est prévue pour le dernier trimestre de 2006. Le catalogage des manuels scolaires du musée débutera, quant à lui, le 17 novembre 2005 et se terminera au premier trimestre de 2007. Depuis le mois de juillet 2005, les notices créées et, plus généralement, les catalogues de la bibliothèque et du Musée national de l'éducation sont pleinement accessibles en ligne (site [www.inrp.fr](http://www.inrp.fr) <<http://www.inrp.fr>> et, pour la bibliothèque, site du système universitaire de documentation : [www.sudoc.abes.fr](http://www.sudoc.abes.fr) <<http://www.sudoc.abes.fr>>).

Le programme de catalogage s'accompagne d'un programme de restauration des manuels scolaires anciens de la bibliothèque : sur près de 2000 documents à traiter, 500 l'ont été en un an et demi.

#### ***Numérisation des fonds de manuels scolaires***

A partir de 2007, l'INRP se lancera dans la numérisation des principaux textes qui jalonnent l'histoire des manuels scolaires et envisagera ainsi de constituer progressivement une anthologie des manuels d'enseignement des différentes disciplines. Au préalable, un groupe de travail, dont il serait souhaitable qu'il soit international, aura opéré une sélection des manuels scolaires à numériser.

A l'horizon de 2010, l'objectif est d'avoir numérisé par ce biais 1 000 manuels scolaires en mode image. Les textes de ces manuels numérisés seront accessibles sur le site de l'INRP. Ce travail constituera la base d'une coopération avec la Bibliothèque nationale de France (site GALLICA) et celle d'un projet européen inclus dans le cadre du programme E-CONTENT, par lequel plusieurs structures documentaires nationales s'associeront pour la constitution d'une base de documentation numérisée en éducation.

#### **MANSCOL, Manuels scolaires québécois (Paul Aubin)**

L'édition de manuels scolaires au Québec débute en 1765 avec nos tout débuts dans l'imprimerie. S'alimentant d'abord à l'étranger - principalement France et Angleterre dont des textes sont réimprimés au Québec avec plus ou moins de modifications -, l'industrie génère très tôt une production locale tout en continuant à intégrer un bon nombre de productions d'ailleurs.

Le catalogue MANSOL (<http://www.bibl.ulaval.ca/ress/manscol/>) vise à recenser, décrire et classer l'ensemble de la production québécoise, y compris les apports étrangers reproduits au Québec. Le site offre présentement un corpus de 20 000 références, éditions princeps et réimpressions confondues. Cette masse documentaire est accessible selon les voies traditionnelles de la recherche bibliographique : auteur, titre, éditeur, année, une localisation pour chaque document. Comme il s'agit de manuels scolaires, on a ajouté deux voies d'accès propres au sujet : les disciplines et les dates d'approbation.

Enfin, le site a été conçu comme un centre de documentation virtuelle pour favoriser l'histoire du manuel. Au catalogue qui en est l'assise, on ajoute plusieurs différents volets qui permettent d'amorcer une analyse des références : dictionnaires d'auteurs et d'éditeur, historiographie, bibliographie, sources manuscrites et imprimées, législation, programmes, questionnaires d'examens.

Enfin, on y retrouve un bottin international des chercheurs intéressés à l'histoire du manuel de même que les adresses de sites internet produits dans une douzaine de pays et qui ont été conçus dans la même optique : présenter ce qui se fait dans chaque pays dans ce secteur de la recherche, avant, espérons-le, qu'on en arrive à produire des instruments de recherche croisés englobant plusieurs pays : la nature même du produit analysé - le manuel scolaire - s'y prête car on retrouve souvent les mêmes manuels, plus ou moins modifiés, dans plusieurs pays.

## **Online services providing commercial contents in education. Which digital space for mediatised communication in school?**

Gérard Puimatto

For a few years, political objectives of ICT generalization at school have resulted in a lot of public initiatives. The logic of experimentation gives way to quasi-industrialists deployments, involving a group of actors, among whom educational establishment, local authority and national education system, both in its central and decentralized services.

Digital resources occupy a specific place in this device, between the freedom of choice usually conferred to the actors and the definition of large span policies. The institutional, individual and leading actors are challenged, with significant differences, to work out new methods around the use of digital on line resources.

### **Networking school, at the heart of initiatives**

The educational digital network therefore settles at the crossroads of the concerns of users and actors of editorial and territorial development. For users, the fields of use prevail, with in particular pedagogy, school life, documentation and organization; for development's actors, on the other hand, network appears as a traditional technical organization in layers, which can be briefly described by the three levels: *infrastructure*, *infostructure* and *services* provided to users. For the actors of the educational communities<sup>1</sup>, it is as many reticular dimensions which can develop, in a *reticularity of use* gradually becoming essential to all.

This concept of *reticularity of use* comes from sociology of the innovation; it fits in particular in an approach of the sociotechnical frames of reference, and especially in the framework of use founding the practice of the users (Flichy, 2003).

The various parts of the regulation/recommendation, associated to the purchasing rules of public institutions and to the previous operating modes in educational planning and development lead to segmentation of public initiative. Simply, but not exclusively, it can be described in four fields: equipments, networks, digital working environments<sup>2</sup> and contents. From the point of view of the constitution of

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1 In France, educative communities are defined by orientation law for education (1989). It includes teachers, pupils and students, administrative and technical staff and families, all considered as educational actors.

2 Digital working environments are known in France under the acronym ENT (*espace numérique de travail*), defined by a directive schema published by ministry of education SDET (Educnet, 2002). ENT is a set of on line services, providing access to the most

information spaces and mediatized school communication areas, it is then a double glance which one must develop: the one related to each elementary project in one of the section considered, appreciated according to traditional criteria of effectiveness and response to the needs; but also a more distanced glance, relating to the whole digital space of education which is constituted.

### **Informational and documentary contexts**

On line editorial services contents thus constitute one of the components of digital spaces of education in construction; they cannot be apprehended separately without also considering this global approach. But they are also a component of an environment of informational and documentary resources in deep transformation; a change from a shortage logic to one of plenty; evolution of a documentary intern organization founded on the fundamental bases (analytical and systematic indexing) to the "anorganisation" of Internet, brilliantly compensated by the power of full text tools. New informational and documentary context are therefore coming to disturb the traditional school modes.

But this context switch does not only affect School: it also strikes head on the publishing sector. If the schoolbook remains for a while protected by the public funds allotted to it, Internet is a powerful factor of development of an important public publication. Those initiatives come encroaching on traditional areas of commercial edition, publishing directly a lot of resources. It is also the vector of a new edition with educational purpose, which can be described as collateral, for the major actors of television, radio, press, music and software editors, etc. Internet allows them to develop marginal activity, without claiming to have main educational economic viability.

### **First initiatives in France: ENS, CNS, KNE**

It is in this context that since 2002 on line editorial services for education have developed. The ministry of education first launched the ENEE program (European digital educational area), inaugurated in 2003 under the name of *espace numérique des savoirs*. ENS, designed to concern 1.500 schools and establishments, aimed at offering them a set of "basic" resources, with adapted rights, negotiated and purchased by the ministry.

The on line editorial services resulting from ENS experimentation were constituted, under the vigorous impulse of the ministry, in trade association<sup>3</sup> CNS (*digital channel of the knowledge*). The group brings together about 35 editorial companies (25 members of group, 10 with a distribution agreement); it meets the requests of the

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information systems of school and educative system (marks, attendance, following of courses and studies, school life, etc.)

3 In French, GIE (*groupement d'intérêts économiques*), legal form for consortium (trade association)

ministry, but also the needs of local authorities developing specific initiatives like Ordina13 or Landes Interactives<sup>4</sup>. In the same time, the *digital Kiosk of education* (KNE) is constituted around the editors of the *Lagardere group* and their partners. The KNE is strongly attached to the historical current of the group edition, in particular of its components in school edition and reference books (dictionaries, encyclopaedia, atlas, etc.).

For the whole of the first initiatives, either the public initiative ENS or the process of leading sphere CNS or KNE, construction is not as much related to a response to a need for use or to an economic logic. It is less based on the structuring of a market than to a step of pluri-institutional construction, first implying the ministry itself then the local authorities.

## **Evolutions and characteristic tendencies**

Beyond the simple description of the works undertaken by the protagonists, some specificity emerges. They are closely related to the very nature of on line editorial services, particularly to the technical and media possibilities offered as well as to the associated editorial and economic processes.

*First specificity*, the media and granular diversification of the resources suggested: the first offer mostly came from previous productions (off line multimedia titles, elements of web sites and of digital books), catalogues are now gradually growing in quantity and in quality with wider range of items: development of the offer of granular resources, generally in the form of graphic animations of a few minutes maximum illustrating among others experimental approaches in sciences; sets integrating the components of handbooks, class resources and documents for the pupil ; new approaches of encyclopaedias integrating external functions of links, actualization, offer of topical files, etc.

The federation of editors constitutes the *second specificity* of the process. Whereas the titles multimedia were traditionally to be bought without taking knowledge and according to non comparable bases between the editors (definitions very different from products, non homogeneous user licences for school uses, modes of tariffing), the setting in bouquets imposes to set aligned on a single mode of marketing. All the on line digital products and resources must be proposed in the shape of an annual subscription according to the number of pupils, and this constitutes a considerable evolution compared to previous commercial practices.

The *third specificity*, the weak documentary organization of the offers, catalogues of the bouquets being more conceived like compilations of commercial catalogues of the editors, without common documentary structuring. There is thus no coherence in terms of contents and response to the needs, and not either of transverse diagram of

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<sup>4</sup> Ordina 13 is an initiative of Bouches-du-Rhône county; Landes Interactive is an initiative of Landes county; both provide to all the pupils of third and fourth class of secondary school a laptop.

indexing making it possible for the users to identify the resources which are necessary for them. The publication of French profile for the learning object model LOM FR is presented like a response to this need, but it remains conceived above all to describe objects of e-learning, which does not correspond directly to the diagram and the diversity of the leading resources offered on line.

Generally, these three characteristics fit more in a process of market structuring by the offer and an organization strongly marked by multi institutional interventions. The constitution and the evolution of on line contents editorial services are subjected to multiple stakes - economic, institutional and organisational - in which the needs for the users and the organization of the establishments weigh little. The approaches of documentary policy, in particular, which aim at structuring the resources environment and its modes of exploitation on the scale of the establishment, are not in the least facilitated by an offer which is organized more on the title than on the contents.

In this context, the direct diffusion of the leading on line bouquets remains marginal, both from the commercial point of view and from that of the uses. Confrontation with the products into single-user and local area network does not reveal in an obvious way a determining advantage; passing from the purchase of informational property to the acquisition of services is slowed down by the rules and practices of management; technical incidents and difficulties, even if they tend to reduce strongly, also constitute an important obstacle to programming activities one might not be able to achieve. The bouquets of on line contents are mainly diffused in specific devices such as ENS or attributions of the local authorities in appropriations assigned in support to wide range operations.

### **The question of added values**

The editorial on line services make a profound change of the economic models, while passing from the sale by unit to a logic of subscription opening annual rights of use and tarified according to the number of pupils. Within a framework thus renewed, the editorial added values are, at least partially, modified. Traditionally positioned in particular in the recognition of a label, guaranteeing quality of the publications and fidelity with a followed and clearly posted leading line, they also settle in the constitution of a transmission and processing chain from the author to the user; such a chain implies in particular the links of manufacturing, promotion, diffusion, after sale service, and so on. Added values finally reside in the capacity to offer a support to the work of the authors, an accompaniment of their activity which makes it possible to reach with a recognized quality.

With the digital on line bouquets, the editor is not any more the central actor of the chain of the author to the user; the promoter of the bouquet occupies a determining place, like last link before the user. If they are regroupings of editors jealous of their prerogatives, the bouquets are not less for the users strongly identified actors, whose name and recognition are related to the quality of the rendered services, in particular

out of technical matter, but also of contents matter. The distribution of the responsibilities between author, editors and the bouquet's provider are not clearly perceptible by the users; the fame and the image of the bouquet are essential in the choices. A significant part of the editorial added value, that of the label, is transferred for the user on a technical provider receiving benefits who does not control the main components of them.

In such a scheme, the determining added values leave the traditional distribution and can be apprehended in two registers, more like fields of potential development than like existing reality today:

- Added values "relative", i.e. added by one of the editorial chain links, for example the benefit of the functionalities of the network related to the transfer or establishment of a title on Internet or the benefit dependent on the bouquet and its own services (search, bookmarks, notes, hybrid document composition, etc.).
- Using values, near as economist concept, this corresponds, in the sociology of the technological innovation, to the framework of use, component which joins the functional framework to constitute the sociotechnical framework of reference. In this approach, the sociotechnical adequacy of the framework to a need for use which creates a new added value, sufficient to justify the purchase.

In both cases, it is the specificity of the on line support which makes it possible to release from the new elements. The case of the CNS initiative is on this edifying point, the efforts devoted for two years aiming at homogenizing the offer and the step of the editors, but being occupied that little semantic coherence of the offer and its response to the needs for the users. The catalogue proposed more aims at allowing the choice of a product than the identification of resources meeting the needs within these titles; it seems more commercial than documentary. The required added value is on the one hand differential by the passage to on line; on the other hand it's limited to the functional framework of each product; in both cases, it is less positioned on the scale of the bouquet.

### **On line editorial services and the development of digital mediatized educational communication**

On line evolutions of schoolbooks, titles, informational resources, services of school support or granular resources... One can wonder in what their availability makes it possible to develop a mediatized educational communication, or more precisely in what the services of contents contribute to work out a space of mediatized school communication.

In the current situation, for example, subscribing to several services of the CNS is often being - when they exist - at the head of many personal services of storage (personal notes, bookmarks, documents, etc), without having the possibility to pass

easily from one to another. Each service is conceived as an environment of closed use, the opening being limited in the best case to use external bonds to integrate new contents. Consequently, the services of on line contents are limited by their design of aggregates of services, without real integration beyond the only process of user's identification. The latter is strongly forced by the limitations of its design: sometimes, identification of computer rather than of the user; directories specific to the bouquets, allowing management of the users, rights and groups only within the bouquet itself, with limited possibilities<sup>5</sup>.

The use of on line editorial contents bouquets, from the point of view of mediatized educational communication, can be conceived only insofar as the contents, the users and the services evolve in the same environment; such an environment must correspond to the successful integration of an adapted functional framework and a framework of use corresponding to expectations. The study of current services shows that it is not true: if one uses more than a unique service<sup>6</sup>, the construction of sociotechnic coherence<sup>7</sup>, is at best left to the care of the user within the framework of his local area network or working station. It is in particular the case for the basic functions of communication (asynchronous or instantaneous transport; forums), functions of personal work (personal space of documents keeping, bookmarks and notes) and services related to workgroups.

#### ***Which policy for digital contents?***

This situation, however, is not a set one. Different actors are working on its evolution. The various editors and bouquets providers try to approach the ENT initiatives or the organizations deploying networks on a large scale, in particular to share processes of identification. Certain local authorities plan to reverse the process while launching invitations to bid towards editors, allowing them to integrate a territorial unique process of identification<sup>8</sup>. The ministerial authorities work on the development of specifications for directories access, in the long term allowing the unification of the various processes of identification.

The current situation still clearly let appear a divergence of approach between the point of view of the editor and that of the user. For the first, the scheme is organized around three objects: the resource, the bouquet and the functional space; for the second, it is the use which constitutes the elementary object: the functional framework of digital space constitutes the intermediate level, whereas the macro

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<sup>5</sup> The management of the groups, in particular, is not seen in a transverse way. It makes it possible to the system to define openings of rights (group of users having the right to such or such resource), but does not authorize the constitution of working groups sharing personal documents or selected resources, if not within one of the services if planned so.

<sup>6</sup> The level of relevance is that of the service and not that of the bouquet, the latter not bringing common services transverse accessible to the users.

<sup>7</sup> In reference to the work of Patrice Flichy on the processes of innovation technological (Flichy, 2003)

<sup>8</sup> The Region Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur is committed in the design of such a device.



level is more apprehended as the space of resource open to the establishment, according to its choices and of the territorial policies.

In their current state of development, the services of on line editorial contents only constitute one very small share of the use of resources, even compared to the only digital resources. There is a matter of particular situations, whether pilot or experimental initiatives. This situation is not in itself abnormal, taking into account the reorganization of the sector which was necessary for their installation. However, this reorganization applied before all the relations between editors and the offers of titles; the conceptual evolutions of the document (in particular its granularity) are slow, and the definition of services according to the users needs progresses but slowly.

The current situation of the on line editorial services is thus overall unfavourable, with a weak diffusion and a design only slowly evolving to a real taking into account of the situations of use. For all that, the evolution of the economic organization, and in particular the homogenisation of the approaches of the actors, must be greeted and constitute a significant stage.

The bouquets on line of editorial resources, at this stage, cannot claim to replace a multi-media offer off line, itself in strong crisis. Their design does not enable them either to claim to constitute informational and full documentary environments. They position on the other hand as complements although badly known to existing documentary offer, between the traditional funds of the school documentation centres (CDI), the off line multimedia titles (including local area network products) and Internet. But neither their design nor the current methods of their uses make it possible to consider the ways of constitution of coherent school documentary environments, including local documentary funds, digital bouquets, and public Internet, in the logic of development of documentary policies in educational establishments.

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## **Stakes and prospects of historical popularization books for children regarded as educational media**

Hélène Collet

Telling History to children for an educational purpose is not new. It has always been a subject of education and teaching, especially for sons of emperors, kings and noble people, who were destined to exert power at different levels. To do that, they had to have knowledge of the past.

At any time, entire chapters in History were romanticized or forgotten, and others were favoured and embellished. Hagiographical literature has great resonance, especially in the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when schooling was developing and the struggle against illiteracy had already spreading out. We witness the diffusion of a type of literature which is fictional and documentary at the same time, intended for children as well as adults, for pupils as well as parents, with a supervising exerted by non-religious as well as religious authorities: the approval comments appear as an epigraph to each book, like did Mégard, a publisher situated in Rouen, and his *Bibliothèque morale de la jeunesse* (Moral library for children).

While schooling is developing, publishers are specializing. Thus a differentiation is gradually made between fiction, textbook and informative book. The latter could be described as our current historical documentary. Fictional and informative books are often hagiographical. The 19<sup>th</sup> century is also the golden age for publishers specialized in children literature (Hetzel, Mame, Mégard...) and for magazines for children.

Telling History to children today originates in the context of the 1970's. History, as an early-learning activity, becomes again a fully-taught subject in the syllabi. In the area of adult literature, famous collections are launched: *Les Grandes Biographies* (The Great Biographies) published by Fayard and written by famous historians; *Les Trente journées qui ont fait la France* (The Thirty Days that made France) by Gallimard – it was re-opened in October 2005 under Mona Ozouf's aegis. For children, the collection *La vie privée des hommes* (The Private Life of Men) by Hachette is introduced in every family and in schools.

History is also told to children through different supports such as television (*C'est pas sorcier* ! You don't have to be a genius), the Internet, magazines (*Arkéo*, *Normandie Junior*), through different genres such as comic strips, historical novel, romanticized history... However, the topic of this paper is restricted to informative books intended for children. This one falls under the following criteria: a book which comes under the 1949 Law about publications intended for children and of which the author makes it clear that the content is likely to popularize History. It is the unique goal of the object asserted by the publisher who refers to children as

readers. For greater convenience, we shall call “historical documentaries” this kind of books. Textbooks which fall exclusively under teaching syllabi, extracurricular books strictly speaking – that’s to say books which follow syllabi, in complement with textbooks, magazines with historical design - even if they are very close of our subject - publications such as *Bibliothèque du Travail* (Library of work) are thus excluded since it comes from a precise approach even if it is also close to our subject.

### **How to define a historical documentary?**

It is possible to draw up a kind of typology of the different objectives characterizing a historical documentary. First, it must inform: about an era, a topic, a character, an event, etc. for a better understanding. It makes it possible to find an answer to a question. It also helps with self education and with becoming aware of the world. It has very important aesthetic and artistic aspects: it is a beautiful item, most of the time in large size, hardback, with a four-colour printing and with glazed paper. It enables us to entertain ourselves and to become enthusiastic about History. “Because we must not be mistaken, the first function of History has always been to entertain us. Most people read History in order to relax and dream” (Duby 2000, 150).

Historical documentaries take part in the education and training of citizens. The knowledge of our past, close or distant, the past of our country, our continent in order to put us back in our immediate or domestic context helps to the construction of identity by the comprehension of the past and a projection in the future. Reading historical documentaries must as well allow asking new questions and arousing curiosity.

Finally, the historical documentary helps to learn differently than with a textbook. The textbook is a reference book shared by the pupil and the teacher, designed for the class, an instrument of educational methods following a precise syllabus. The historical documentary is optional. It can be read to provide for a need or to deepen knowledge... According to Michel Barré (1983), the textbook is a pedagogical nonsense, an anti-library which doesn’t encourage reading something else. That’s why he prefers using documentaries. This excessive opinion is to be put in perspective in the context of the 1980’s when textbooks were criticized. However, he doesn’t mean the documentary as a proper textbook. It would be misrepresenting the other functions which characterize it. The documentary is thus not a school book in the first meaning of the word, but this does not exclude its use within the classroom or a school library.

The role of a historical documentary is thus to be a medium, to make History an object close to everyday life, easy to understand, where human beings are authors and actors at the same time. It is a link between those who make History and the non-specialists. It tends to make it familiar, less dramatic, and helps to tame it or even to make up with it.

From this attempt to define the term “historical documentary”, we can draw three issues out, which will be approached in terms of stakes:

- intellectual: combining scientific rigour and adaptation to a young public
- formal: creating an attractive object but affordable from a financial point of view
- editorial: depicting, choosing subjects, representing History.

### **Intellectual stakes: combining scientific rigour and adaptation to a young public**

The scientific quality of historical documentaries content is, first of all, characterized by the presence of scientific authors. For a long time, authors of this kind of books had been scholars, devotees, teachers, librarians. For a few years, we have attended the arrival of academics, specialists among these authors. The precursors were scientists of the so-called “hard sciences” who were the first to be interested in science popularization for children. Moreover, the hackneyed aspect of History when writing for children had great resonance and didn’t produce much prestige. Besides, numerous publishers do not introduce the authors on the cover, which goes to show that it was not selling. Nowadays, we can take as an example Pascal Picq, co-author of *Lucy et son temps (Lucy and her times)* with Nicole Verrechia (Picq et Verrechia, 1996). There is a discrepancy between the way his impressive résumé is presented and the spirit of the collection (use of humour and of advertising processes). The collection *Autrement junior, série Histoire* (Differently junior. Series History) presents a scientific committee made up with historians. Let’s not forget that the presence of a scientific committee is the characteristic of a scientific magazine. Thus, the publisher’s aim is really to offer a series with a high-levelled intellectual scientific quality.

The scientificity is also proved by the treatment of new topics of academic study which we find now adapted for a young public. Thus nowadays, new themes are introduced such as the art of cooking and the order of dishes, heraldry, or even the Early Middle Ages.

Finally, the introduction of historical methods is spreading out. History is not self-made: it requires scientific methods set up by men in order to know the past and how we know it. As an example, we can cite Fiorelli’s works. He undertook excavations in Pompeii and created the method of “pouring-moulding” the cavities which were dug after the decomposition of corpses of people who died under lava flows (*Pompéi, vie et destruction d’une cité romaine / Pompei: the day a city was buried*, 1999, 29). Another book is quite emblematic of this evolution: *L’Egypte, tout ce qu’on sait et comment on le sait* (Egypt: everything we know and how we know it) (2003). Several chapters are devoted to the discovery of Egyptian sites, as well as to the different methods permitting to date, analyse, compare, detail and present the different aspects of everyday life in the Ancient Egypt, from dating with carbon-14 to paleozoology, including epigraphy and paleobotany.

Through these different elements (authors, new topics of study, introduction of research methods), History proves to be affordable for a young public, without renouncing to the scientific and intellectual rigour that characterizes it.

### **Formal stakes: presenting attractive objects**

Formal stakes are considerable for publishers: they have to make an object which combine scientific rigour and attractiveness in order to sell to children, but also to parents. Pierre Marchand, who had been in charge of the child section for Gallimard for years, then for Hachette for a few months before his death in 2002, said: “A book must be attractive, but it must not be expensive”. However, historical as well as scientific documentaries intended for children are very expensive: large size, four-colour printing, hardback, glazed paper, numerous illustrations and so on. Co-publishing is one of the solutions to this material and financial problem. Pierre Marchand managed “a masterstroke” in the beginning of the 1990’s by taking the English publisher Dorling Kindersley on as a partner for their collections translated into French and published by Gallimard: I mean *Les yeux de la découverte* (*Eyewitness Guides* by Dorling Kindersley). At the time, it was an editorial revolution that was to be copied afterwards. The documentary item was renewed in its form where, for the first time, illustration had the place of honour in a overexposed way, especially with the almost excessive use of photomontage (where a detail is cut from the whole picture) and which was highlighted by printing technical processes, worthy of the biggest art publishers. The success of such an enterprise was immediate and today, the collection is still alive with 95 titles in the publisher’s catalogue.

However the attraction for this collection, beautiful as it was, raises problems of reading and of access to information. We can quote as an example the introduction page of *Lumières de la Grèce (Ancient Greece)* by Anne Pearson (1992, 7). There we can find illustrations, photographs of objects, of the Acropolis and a small chronological table. If we look into the photo of the object whose caption is “Sea Horse”, further information are given: “On the bezel of this ring appears a sea horse whose tail looks like a dolphin’s”. The informative degree of this ring and its caption is nearly nothing. What do we learn about the Ancient Greek civilisation through this example? Nothing. It’s the same for the next picture (a pottery in the shape of a donkey’s head): “here is a two-handled cup in the shape of a donkey’s head”. Outside the fact that the items represented in these two examples are clearly out of their context (Which date? Era? Place? Where are the represented objects? Information we learn with some difficulty at the end of the book in the photographic credits), the caption doesn’t offer any valuable information. We could caricature a little by saying the author wanted to fill in a blank in the double page by inserting this kind of pictures, particularly with this kind of captions. When we refer to the paratext of the book, we can better understand some of the layouts: these are the collections of the British Museum. The book is then more of a museography kind than of the highlighting of History and its popularization. It is used for giving to see

objects and it cultivates a very aesthetic presentation which has other advantages. Several of my librarians colleagues and myself have witnessed the difficulties for the public (most of them pupils) to take information, and it is almost impossible for them to even find any information in this kind of documents, which requires not only help in terms of reading, but also the presence of other historical documentaries in order to undertake real and efficient documentary researches.

There are other examples of more didactic pictures. We can mention *Alésia* (Adam, 1984, 58) in Casterman's Series *Les jours de l'Histoire* (*Events of Yesterday* by Silver Burdett Press): a reproduction of a wooden-carved stele is drawn with clear lines in the comic strips way in order to make the reading easier and immediately intelligible (the scene represents Gauls having meal with finely worked furnishings).



**Figure 1.** High left: De la Martinière, p.29; high right: Gründ, p.18; low left: Gallimard, p.18

Other illustrations see their representation changing over the years and depending on the publishers. For instance, there is this Roman comb which is in the National Museum of Rome. It was studied by three different publishers (1990, Gallimard in *Rome la conquérante*, p.18 (*Ancient Rome*, Dorling Kindersley); 1998, De La Martinière jeunesse in *Vivre comme...les romains*, p.29 (*Step into the Roman Empire*, Lorenz Books); 2001, Gründ in *Comment on vivait à Rome*, p.18 (*Ancient Rome*, Smart Apple Media)): it is a sculpted ivory comb with the inscription "Modestina Vale" engraved on it - which means "Modestina farewell" in Latin. It is presented full-faced or in profile, in different sizes –none of the three publishers indicates its exact size. In Gallimard's edition, it is indicated that we can read "Modestina Farewell" on it. However, the inscription is really written in Latin which is not told to us. It is thus not legible. De La Martinière doesn't take any risk in the

matter and only indicates that “this ivory comb has its owner’s name”. Finally, Gründ are the most rigorous in the caption: “this ivory comb is engraved: “Modestina Vale” (Modestina Farewell)”. Gründ introduces the item exactly as it appears to us, and mentions that it is written in Latin and translates the words. Examples like this are manifold and are dealt with in a different way according to the publishers and the dates of edition

These few examples show the variety of supports which can be used, among others –drawings, especially in collections intended for a younger public. Each picture must be adapted to its public and particularly must respect a material and intellectual rigour, because “a good popularization means to ennoble the spirit of other people” as is said by Labarthe.

### Editorial stakes: representing History

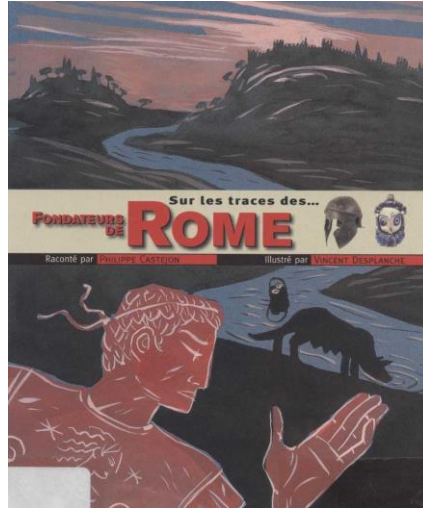
To represent History, publishers resort to diverse tricks, especially formal ones. The first element which can captivate the reader is the collection. There are numerous series titles which play on the identification of children or on an invitation to take part in an extraordinary adventure. We can find for example *Des enfants font l’histoire* by Casterman (*Living in another time* by Silver Burdett Press; *La vie des enfants* by Le Sorbier (*Peoples of the past* by Millbrook Press); *Explorons...* by Rouge&Or (Let’s explore); *Explorateur 3D* by Hachette (3-dimensional explorer) and many more. Other publishers rather play on the looks and the “giving to see”. It is the case for Gallimard with *Les yeux de la découverte* or *Les yeux de l’histoire* (*Be an eyewitness to...* by Dorling Kindersley); Fleurus with *Voir l’histoire* (See History) or Mango with *Regard d’aujourd’hui* (The eyes of today). As well, the back cover is a reader catcher with invitations to take part in adventures of the past and to make exciting discoveries. Of course, the aim is to seduce children, but also their parents who chose the documentaries for them most of the time.

Another way to gain the young public’s attention through their parents is also to propose methodological guides just as in textbooks in diverse collections (*Voir l’histoire* by Fleurus; *Le grand livre de l’histoire* by Hachette or in the Larousse series, *Encyclopédie des jeunes*). These guides are completed by index, glossaries, and tables of contents, which are more or less extensive.

Other publishers play on fashionable graphics. If we consider the cover of *Sur les traces des...fondateurs de Rome* (On the trail of...Rome’s founders) (Castejon, 2001), we can see that everything is done to attract the young reader seeking for History: the main colour is dark; in the foreground, a character is drawn in an offensive way, in an almost “gothic” style in the shape of comic strips. We see a wolf drinking water from a not much appealing river. We get involved in the conquest of Rome from the cover. This kind of graphics is attractive for teenagers. We can add that this series which is presented as a historical series by the publishers, introduces in fact founding texts from eras when the action takes place, with some informative pages in-between. Therefore, I tend to qualify them as fiction more than



as documentary information since the latter is not at all prevailing –but this doesn't take away the interest in reading those texts.



**Figure 2.** Cover of *On the trail of...Rome's founders*

Other tricks: play activities. Games, wings, transparent pages, extendable pages, strips, flapped units are legion in historical documentaries. It is interesting to note that the publishers use these tricks in books, especially in books which we usually call “beautiful books”, intended for adults (Gründ, Arthaud or Gallimard for instance). Among the “fashionable” activities, we find direct links between books and the Internet (Series *Big Bang* by Gallimard) or the presence of CD-ROMs sold with the documentaries (series *Voir l'histoire* by Fleurus). The book on itself doesn't sell anymore and in the middle of so many collections, the book which presents a complementarity (not always checked) with another reading support has maybe better chances to be sold. On the contrary, CD-ROMs publishers complete their electronic support with complete books. It is the case for *L'émerillon : enquête à la cour d'Aliénor d'Aquitaine* (The Merlin: investigation at the court of Eleanor of Aquitaine)(Favreau, 2005), a game in which we have to investigate in the Middle-Ages and it is completed by an illustrated 160-paged encyclopaedia about Middle-Ages History.

But what we can also observe, in parallel to these tricks, is the coming-back of the more or less narrative text, less fragmented than before- what caused problems for reading and finding information as we said before – with a tendency to the “docu-fiction” (which is developing on TV with films like *L'Odyssée de l'espèce* / A species odyssey) by some publishers. This kind of presentation has been in existence for already several years in the series *Archimède* (Archimedes) by L'Ecole des Loisirs. The topic of each volume is dealt with in the form of a well illustrated linear text. However, we must read the content carefully to decide if we treat it as a

documentary book or as fiction, because sometimes textual “parasites” can mislead us as for the informative content. Still by the same publisher, the series *Belle vie* (Beautiful life) (created in 2004), a collection of biographies, introduces in the form of paperback books, the ambitions and struggles of the treated character and his role in History, the whole thing decorated with a coloured notebook. The documentary series *Par quatre chemins*<sup>1</sup> (created in 2005 by Gallimard) intends to multiply the approaches and points of view. On a topic, we can find in turns a child’s narration (who tells the story of his family, its context) and a documentary narration in the form of a double-page which put the topic back in History. In parallel, the publisher created, last year, a fiction series in the form of a diary: each narrator tells the events of his or her time at his or her life pace, but at the same time he or she keeps the liberty of making-up (it is a fiction collection). A small documentary file can be found at the end of the volume to put the story back in History.

Another type of narration is to be analysed: the kind that uses humour as in the series *Docudéments*<sup>2</sup> by Gallimard or *Regard d’aujourd’hui* by Mango. With Mango, humour is treated in a way that can cause a problem of reference for the reader (a representation of Jesus Christ as Che Guevara for example).

Of course, these three issues interpenetrate and must be taken as a whole. But the analyse tries to distinguish them and separate them from the others in order to highlight them better.

## Which History?

While studying historical documentaries, we can see that a few stereotypes still have a pronounced presence. For example, the cover of *Charlemagne* (Bührer-Thierry, 1996) represents the emperor with a beard whereas historians proved years ago that he wasn’t bearded. Antoine Auger, in his *Charlemagne et son temps* (Charlemagne and his times; Auger 2001, cov.) prefers playing on the nuances of red and on graphics so that the reader doesn’t see if Charlemagne has got a beard or not : the artist played on the pronounced stereotype and the true appearance of the character at the same time.

Another kind of stereotype: inserting contemporary representations in a given era. In *Les Gaulois* (The Gauls) (Lescarret 2001, 7), we see on page 7 a family scene where people are drinking barley beer in front of their village. A young woman is hanging back on the left, waiting, without a doubt, for serving the other masculine characters. A dog is standing near its master. This scene borders on a caricature of a modern family who spend their holiday in a village-club (whereas the text denounces on page 6 the stereotypes about the Gauls which flourished in the texts of that time).

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<sup>1</sup> Literally it means “By four ways”, but it’s a pun with the expression « ne pas y aller par quatre chemins » which means “to come straight to the point”.

<sup>2</sup> Literally “Documad”, it’s a play on words with *document* and *dément* which means mad in French.

There is a discrepancy between the dog and the status it was given at that time. For Gauls it was not a pet as it is considered today or at the time by rich Roman families. It was bred to be eaten and its skin was then polished and used as a “carpet” in their huts.

We also need to note a certain lack of creativity in the content as well as in the form. Indeed, *Les yeux de la découverte* as soon as it was first published was copied by many other publishers. As the fragmented presentation caused reading difficulties, some of them worked on the structure of information, especially those who don't resort to European co-publishing (the economical reasons are numerous) and who favour French authors.

The chosen topics show an over-representativeness of certain era such as: Ancient Egypt, Ancient Greece, Rome, and the “Late” Middle-Ages. This can be explained among other things by the presence of these same topics in textbooks in the first years in high school. We should wait for more titles about the 19<sup>th</sup> or 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (except for the wars which are a little dealt with) and especially the 5<sup>th</sup> Republic.

Other topics are only treated on the occasion of commemorations: the 200<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the French Revolution was the occasion for numerous publications on the subject, intended for adults as well as children. Ever since, the numbers of titles about the same topic has been less than 10.

We come to taboo subjects. The participation of the French Government under the Vichy Regime is never really acknowledged or denounced. We find it in *Le débarquement (D-Day and the invasion of Normandy)* (Kemp 1994, 32): the author denounces the active collaboration of the French government in the transportation of Jews to concentration camps. Coincidence or not, this series has had only this title in the publisher's catalogue. It was published again in 2004 on the occasion of the 60<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of D-Day in the series *Les Yeux de la découverte*. Likewise, no historical documentary deals with the Algerian War in a complete way. Besides the fact that it is recent History, that a great number of people who participated to these events are still alive, that there is an almost national taboo on certain acts of violence committed during this troubled period and that the records have not been largely released yet, there is also a real self-censure on the subject from the publishers. That's what Dominique Gaussen, the creator of the series *Regard d'aujourd'hui* in Mango confided to me in April 2002.

However among the latest publications, new reflections on new topics start to appear: extra-European History is appearing (Ancient China, Indians...) even if entire continents are still neglected (Australia, Poles, and African areas). A real creation is coming into being among minor publishers as Le Sorbier or Mango. Periods which were less dealt with till now (because more unknown) are appearing: the Early Middle-Ages for example. But also new approaches: heraldry is dealt with by Nathan, techniques by Le Sorbier. A series – today it has disappeared- fitted in with the new methods of historical research: *Des objets font l'histoire* by Casterman (*History through objects* by Puffin Books): an object – representative of its era or of

a mentality- was presented in its historical context with its consequences. The themes could go from the colt, the jeans, glasses to the pill and condoms and through the stamp and the amphora. Actually, the book is a multi-faceted medium, an object of communication, as well as narration and reflection in the area of Information. The historical documentary intended for children is an object adapted to its time (caught in the web), interactive, as well as an object which requires selectivity and analyse (lost in a textbook).

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## **Workshop 1**

### **Changing Identities in a Global World**



# **The British Empire and Commonwealth in World War II: Selection and Omission in English History Textbooks**

Stuart Foster

On a scale unprecedented in human history the Second World War was a truly global event. More than 60 nations representing 1.7 billion people or three quarters of the world's population were consumed by the conflict. Military actions raged in Asia, Africa, Europe, and on the world's major oceans. The war engaged citizens from Argentina to India, Australia to Iran, and Thailand to Kenya. Understandably, therefore, the war typically stands as a landmark episode in history education throughout the world. In England its inclusion in the history curriculum is assured and the presence of the Second World War in history textbooks guaranteed.

Significantly, however, despite the global sweep of the World War II, analysis of textbooks commonly used in England suggests that schoolbooks devote almost exclusive attention to the "principal" Allied and Axis powers. Although some justification can be made for primary focus on these nations, the widespread absence from textbooks of other countries, cultures, and ethnic groups determines that history students will learn about the war from a disturbingly limited and narrow perspective. Absent from their understanding of the war will be any knowledge of the contributions of other nations and any sensitivity to the accomplishments, actions, and complex perspectives of peoples from other diverse cultural and national backgrounds.

To explore these issues more fully this study is broadly divided into four parts. First, four contemporary history textbooks routinely used in history classrooms in England are analysed. Second, based on the findings of relevant historical scholarship, attention is drawn to the experiences of colonial peoples during World War II. Third, the study illuminates and explains the reasons for the apparent gulf between the historical record and the information contained in history textbooks. Finally some broader suggestions for ensuring the emergence of a more inclusive history education are offered.

## **Portrayal of peoples from the Empire and Commonwealth in history textbooks**

Following a wide-ranging review of secondary history textbooks currently available on the market in England four representative textbooks were selected for analysis:

- Ferriby, David & McCabe, Jim. 2002. *Modern World History*. Oxford: Heinemann.

- McAleavy, Tom. 2004. *Modern World History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Todd, Allan. 2001. *The Modern World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
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Drawing on the author's previous research studies (e.g., Nicholls and Foster, 2005; Foster and Nicholls, 2005; Foster, 1999) and methodological considerations raised by other scholars in the field of textbook research (e.g., Foster and Crawford, in press; Schissler and Soysal, 2005; Crawford, 2000; Hein and Selden, 2000; Pingel, 1999; Apple and Christian-Smith, 1991) textbooks in this study principally were analysed using story line, content and pictorial analysis. Guiding research questions used for these analyses focused on several overreaching and interrelated issues. For the purposes of this paper, however, attention is concentrated on analysing: How, in what way, and to what extent are the experiences of peoples from the Empire and Commonwealth portrayed in textbook narratives and photographic representations?

For the most part history textbooks ignore the contributions and experiences of peoples from the Empire and Commonwealth during the Second World War. Despite the fact that Britain drew on the resources and support from all reaches of the Empire, typically reference is made solely to "British forces", "British victories", and "British troops". Where reference is broadened to include military activities with other nations, the term "the Allies" frequently is employed. Abundantly clear, however, is that "the Allies" refers to US, British, and less frequently, Soviet collaboration and rarely includes the scores of other nations involved in the global conflict. Accordingly, Ferriby and McCabe make no mention of any nations beyond these three allied powers and their principal adversaries: Japan, Italy, and Germany. Similarly, except for one fleeting reference to Canadian involvement in the D-Day landings, McAleavy's text completely ignores the contributions of peoples from the Empire, Commonwealth, or indeed any other part of the world. Allan Todd's, *The Modern World*, is also parsimonious in its attention to the contributions of other nations and peoples. According to Todd, the war in Western Europe is a British and US affair; Italian and German troops are defeated in North Africa by the British; and despite a single reference to Australian troops and "British an imperial forces," success in the Pacific largely occurs as the result of American military strength. Furthermore, although reference is made to Japanese conquests in Burma, Singapore, Malaya, and the impending threat to "the important British colony of India," (Todd, 2001, 165) no mention is made to the significant number of troops from Africa, India, New Zealand, Australia, and other nations who gave their lives ensuring the eventual defeat of the Japanese army.

If narrative portrayals of people from the Empire and Commonwealth are rarely included in textbooks, visual representations prove little better. Significantly, analysis of photographic portrayals contained in the four textbooks revealed that out of a total of 86 photographic representations in the textbooks, not one image portrays a person of colour from the Empire and Commonwealth.



Overall, therefore, narrative and photographic analysis of the four textbooks demonstrates that representations of people from the Empire and the Commonwealth are woefully limited. In some textbooks they remain entirely absent; in others they often appear without context or explanation. Based on an analysis of relevant historical scholarship, the next section focuses on the experiences of colonial peoples during World War II. In so doing it raises serious questions about the apparent gulf between contemporary history textbooks and the historical record.

### **The British Empire during World War II: The Historical Record**

Not enough space exists to document the scope and scale of the contributions of the many millions of colonial troops who fought with the Allies during World War II. Brief mention, for example, of the 200,000 New Zealanders, the 500,000 Australians and the half a million Canadians cannot sufficiently do justice to the vital contributions that these countries made in each of the three major theatres of war: Europe, North Africa, and the Pacific. Indeed, even the slightly more extensive attention to the contributions of India and many African nations featured in the next few paragraphs only offers a small indication of the experiences of peoples of colour from the Empire and Commonwealth.

Whether willing or unwilling the contributions made by the peoples of the British Empire and Commonwealth proved very significant in the war effort. For example, the commencement of active war on the African continent soon swelled the number of regiments in both East and West Africa. In response to demands for personnel in East Africa and by the emerging threat of being surrounded by potentially hostile Vichy French territory in the second half of 1940, West African forces expanded to four times their pre-war size (Perry, 1988). In East Africa defence forces were established in Uganda, Tanganyika, Nyasaland and Kenya. Following Italian entry into the war in 1940, African forces were instrumental in the occupation of Italian East Africa and further expanded operations to include active serve in Somaliland, Madagascar, Mauritius, Seychelles and the Middle East (Perry, 1988). With the defeat of the Axis powers on the African continent in 1942 imperial authorities re-evaluated their prejudiced and traditional position of using African soldiers only on African soil. The expedience of war caused a radical shift in strategic thinking (Killingray and Rathbone, 1986) which resulted in African troops being deployed to Ceylon and then to Burma in order to fight the Japanese. African troops also fought in the Mediterranean campaign and in the Allied advance through Italy from 1943-1945. In all more than 160,000 Africans were sent abroad to fight.

When war broke out in Europe in September 1939 fewer than 200,000 personnel served in the Indian army. Soldiers were largely drawn from agricultural communities and the army remained an “unmodernised force” (Perry, 1988). By the war’s end, however, more 2.5 million men and women were in service and the Indian army and the Royal Indian Navy had made a significant contribution to the combined Allied victory (Perry, 1988, 117).

Prior to the breathtaking advance of the Japanese army in 1942, Indian troops committed to overseas service principally acted in supporting roles in Egypt, Malaya, Iraq, the Persian Gulf, and Burma. After 1942 however India became deeply involved in the war as the nation's orientation shifted to India's eastern front. Initially Indian troops shared in Allied setbacks in Malaya and Burma and, when Singapore fell in February 1942, tens of thousands of Indian troops were captured by the Japanese. By 1943, however, Indian troops served under Mountbatten's ultimately successful South East Asia Command and "in early 1944 the Seventh Division's heroic stance at Kohima broke the force of the Japanese advance on Assam, and thereafter they shared in General Slim's triumphant return to Burma" (Spear, 1979, 216). After defeating the Japanese, Indian forces were the first Allied troops in Thailand, Indo-China, and the western islands of the Dutch East Indies (Perry, 1988).

India's contribution to the defeat of Japanese forces in the east additionally was matched by military service to the west. Indian troops shared in the impressive defeat of Italian and German forces in North Africa and vigorously participated in campaigns in Iraq, Syria, and the Persian Gulf. Furthermore, Indian involvement in Italy increased the size of British participation in the area by fifty percent.

Significantly despite common dissatisfaction with continued British rule in India, Indian military personnel typically served with commitment and distinction. As historian Percival Spear noted, "Though the Indian heart was not in the war, the Indian war record is nevertheless impressive... [and] the army itself had a distinguished record" (Spear, 1976, 215). As a measure of their bravery Indian service personnel received 4,000 awards for gallantry and 31 Victoria Crosses.<sup>1</sup> In total an estimated 36,000 Indian troops were killed or reported missing in action during World War II, with a further 65,000 wounded. Little doubt remains that India's military contribution to the war was particularly important at a time when British resources were stretched to their limit. Indeed historian F. W. Perry concluded that "without the Indian Army Britain would have been quite unable to meet her many commitments in the Middle East and Far East" (Perry, 1998, 120).

Despite the impressive involvement of colonial troops in World War II textbooks typically remain silent on the exploitation of colonial people, the endemic racism experienced by many, and the personal and gripping stories of individuals who sacrificed their lives for the Allied cause. Both in Britain and in the Empire little doubt exists that the Second World War was fought in a climate of "stark racial prejudice" (Somerville 1998, xviii). The unapologetic discrimination of people of colour in both civilian and military life was an uncomfortable and ubiquitous feature of the war years (Fryer, 1984). "Black men were not even permitted to lie alongside the white corpses of their fellow men," historian Christopher Somerville noted, and "some were issued with spears and clubs, rather than rifles and grenades" (Somerville, 1998, xviii). Colonial troops routinely received inferior rations, lower

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<sup>1</sup> [www.bbc.co.uk/history/wwtwo/colonies](http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/wwtwo/colonies)

pay, and discriminatory treatment. Furthermore it proved almost impossible for black troops to advance in rank and status. Significantly, no professionally trained black officer was established in the British army and, as one Kenyan soldier complained, “an African’s rank was meaningless to British soldiers.” (Sherwood and Spafford, 1999, 23).

Although the experiences of colonial peoples are often omitted from textbooks their histories unquestionably have significance for British schoolchildren for many reasons, of which three stand out. First, the end of the war marked a significant shift in the power and prestige of the British Empire. With the emergence USSR and USA Britain’s place in the modern world was re-examined and recast. Similarly Britain’s relationship with the peoples of the Commonwealth had to be given sensitive and thoughtful consideration. Secondly, as the nations of Africa, India and the Caribbean enjoyed increasing independence new opportunities and challenges emerged. Today, these nations account for a significant proportion of the world’s population and as such appreciating their histories and experiences forms a vital aspect of understanding the contemporary world. Third, post war emigration from the colonies to the United Kingdom offered a new dimension to the continued interaction between different peoples of the Commonwealth and Empire. Thus, an informed and richer understanding of the historical experiences of immigrants to Britain allows for a more thoughtful appreciation of Britain’s modern multicultural society (see Visram, 1994).

Given these reasons and given the extensive contribution that people from the colonies made to war effort the question arises: why are their histories so often ignored or underrepresented in history textbooks?

### **Why are the histories of people from the Empire and Commonwealth so often ignored or underrepresented in history textbooks?**

First and foremost school history in England is heavily influenced by prescribed curriculum content. The contemporary history curriculum, however, does not represent a collection of value free, objective, and neutral knowledge. Rather the history curriculum has emerged as a result of generations of competing ideological, educational, and sociological influences. A powerful force in determining the history curriculum in England has been the weight of tradition. As many academics have demonstrated for more than a 100 years history teaching in England has had a distinctively Anglo centric, nationalistic and conservative flavour (Marsden, 2001; Dickinson, 2000; Sylvester, 1994; Chancellor, 1970). Influenced by what Grosvenor (1997) refers to as “the discourse of Empire” this “great tradition” of history teaching has ensured that generations of schoolchildren in England typically have been exposed to the transmission of a limited national heritage (Sylvester, 1994). To understand why this should be one only has to look at the fierce ideological battles

that were fought over the history national curriculum during the late 1980s in which forces from the New Right proved highly influential (Crawford, 1996).

The narrowness of the history national curriculum also is reflected in national assessment and examination provisions. Analysis of recent GCSE, AS and A2 history papers, for example, testify to the limited attention given to histories of ethnic groups and to the repeated focus on certain topics (e.g. Nazi Germany and World War II).

The inability of alternative versions of the past to penetrate mainstream narratives is also exacerbated by number of other factors. In particular as curriculum time for history is increasingly squeezed by the claims of other subject areas, educators and textbook authors often argue the difficulty of covering what is perceived to be “additional” subject matter. Moreover the lack of readily available educational resources on subjects beyond the mainstream, inadequate preparation on teacher education programmes (Siraj-Blatchford, 1993), and the failures of OFSTED and QCA<sup>2</sup> to ensure that schools devote serious attention to issues of ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity all contribute to inadequate representations of the past in history classrooms (Sherwood, 1998).

### **Looking to the Future: Some recommendations for more inclusive history education**

Insufficient space is available here to detail the many educational changes required to make history education more inclusive. Nevertheless, three interrelated areas warrant close attention. First, it is important for all politicians, policy makers, educators and textbook authors to appreciate that identity, race, and nationhood are social constructions and that these constructions need to be re-cast as we enter the first decades of the twenty-first century. As has been argued, British identity traditionally has been shaped by adherence to a version of history which sees the achievements of white males as pre-eminent. Largely ignored are the stories, experiences, and achievements of people of colour. But as many critics have argued, since Roman times British history has been forged by the experiences of a complex mix of peoples from all over the world (Grosvenor, 1997; Visram, 1994; Fryer, 1989). To leave out their stories is to offer an “incomplete understanding of British society and its development, its values and its culture” (Visram, 1997, 57). Above all, the experiences of people of colour should not remain outside what has been regarded as mainstream history. Rather their stories should be intertwined, braided, and integrated into the rich and dynamic fabric of British and world history.

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<sup>2</sup> OFSTED (Office for Standards in Education) is the government agency that inspects schools to ensure that the standards and policies of QCA are enforced. The QCA is the Qualification and Curriculum Authority. This is the government body that oversees the operation and assessment of the National Curriculum.

Second, and inexorably related to the point raised above, history educators and textbook writers must consider their application of curriculum content and avoid the damaging effects of “mentioning” in which limited and ad hoc elements of the history and culture of minority groups are included without altering the central Anglo-centric story line. The third issue of importance is the need to ensure that relevant scholarship on the experiences of people of colour penetrates the educational system.

Addressing and implementing these three recommendations poses a difficult challenge. In terms of understanding the Second World War it will require greater attention to the histories of ethnic groups within Britain and to peoples from the Empire, Commonwealth and beyond. Broader than this it will involve a reconceptualization of British identity, critical consideration of curriculum, pedagogy and instructional resources and a fierce commitment on the part of policy makers, the education establishment and, above all, teachers. If history education can go some way to embracing these three recommendations it will undoubtedly result in students having a more inclusive, more responsible, more exciting, and more worthwhile appreciation of our shared history.

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# **History Textbooks Discourse on Identities and Borders: How to Investigate into the Missing Parts**

Janez Justin

## **Introduction**

History textbooks have often been investigated on the assumption that they communicate to students disturbing ideas about nations and territories. However, in history textbook production there is increasingly more expert and social control over final products. Therefore, any attempt to overtly communicate to students ideas that are incoherent with widely accepted standards of political correctness would soon get detected and socially sanctioned. As a result, 'incorrect' ideas about the past of a nation, its identity or territory get communicated covertly, i.e. implicitly. What forms of implicit communication can we think of?

First, there are single expressions that can do the job. One can think of such rhetorical figures as presupposition, implication, understatement, insinuation, paralipsis, parataxis, ellipsis, metaphor, metonymy etc.

But the idea that almost any single linguistic utterance conveys more cognitive content than it explicitly expresses is a more general one. Theories of linguistic communication labelled as pragmatic distinguish between sentence meaning and broader utterance meaning. When interpreting an utterance an interpreter does not only decode word meaning and sentence meaning. He/she also makes inferences about those aspects of utterance meaning that result from the fact that a sentence was used in a particular situation and with a certain communicative intention which may not be fully expressed.

Among various kinds of linguistic utterances that serve as means of knowledge transmission there is one kind that occupies a central place: assertions. An assertion can be viewed as consisting of different sorts of assumptions. Some of the assumptions are explicitly expressed; i.e. they are contained in what people actually tell each other. Other assumptions are implicitly conveyed, or implicated, i.e. they result from the activity in which people get other people to think something (Grice, 1975; Sperber & Wilson, 1998).

Finally, it is not only when interpreting single utterances that a reader discovers implicit meanings. Such meanings may result from his/her interpretation of sets of utterances, i.e. of the way they relate to each other. The style that textbook authors use can be more or less elliptic. All texts are semantically incomplete. Whenever an interpreter notices gaps in a text surface structure, i.e. observes that text meaning is incomplete, this is for him/her a strong signal that there is additional meaning to be inferred.

Discourse analysis that aims at reconstructing implicitly communicated meanings has a long tradition. One of the first examples of such analysis can be found in *Quintilian's Institutiones Oratoriae* where he gave a description of the main motives for the use of what he called *insinuatio*. According to the Roman writer, the motive for conveying certain meanings in the form of insinuation lies either

- in a speaker's lack of certainty about what he would like to communicate to a hearer
- or in a speaker's conviction that overt communication of a certain content would be inappropriate (*Institutiones Oratoriae*, IX, 2)

A contemporary French linguist Catherine Kerbrat-Orecchioni also described possible motives speakers might have for using implicit forms of communication. One of them is in speaker's intention to outplay a moral, political or legal censorship (Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 1986, 277). This could be taken as a reference to instances of implicit communication in history textbooks that are aimed at outplaying the norms of political correctness.

However, I shall not be dealing here only with inappropriate implicit messages that history textbooks might communicate to students. A textbook discourse can produce cognitive effects on students beyond message (explicit or implicit), just by directing them to specific background representations they have to entertain in order to reconstruct what is missing in the surface structure of that discourse.

Is it really necessary that textbook research pays so much attention to theoretical debates? The debate of which I am going to present a small fragment can help us see that textbooks produce on students at least one kind of cognitive effect that traditional textbook research has never accounted for. So let me discuss for a moment the way one of the pragmatic theories of communication approaches the inference process in which interpreters reconstruct implicit meanings. I believe that the theory I have in mind – the so-called relevance theory – can make a great contribution to the type of textbook research that focuses on 'collateral' cognitive and epistemic effects textbooks can produce on students.

### **A relevance-theoretical account of inferences triggered by gaps in didactic text surface structure**

Relevance theory created by Sperber and Wilson in 1980s gives us a pretty clear picture of how a reader who interprets semantically incomplete discourse fills in the gaps. In order to reconstruct what is missing in a text surface structure, he/she has to base his/her inferences on certain background assumptions he/she accesses in his/her long-term memory. But just how does he/she manage to access the right background assumption? Part of the answer is in the following: He/she accesses and uses the background assumption he/she has reason to believe to be the assumption the speaker/writer has implicated in his utterance act.



The question remains as to what criterion an interpreter employs in doing so. Before trying to answer the question we must get a clearer view of the role background assumptions are supposed to play in inference process. Let us consider an example taken from a Slovene history textbook, more precisely, from a chapter that deals with one of the First World War battlefields, the one in Soča (It. – Isonzo) valley where the Austrian army was facing the Italian army.

/1/ The Slovene and Croatian regiments in the Austrian army were the bravest. In eleven offensives the Italian army that was twice as big could not break through the front line. (Nesovic & Prunk, 1996, 16)

The two sentences are juxtaposed without being connected with argumentative or any other sort of connective. In rhetoric such juxtaposition of two sentences is called parataxis. The content of the fragment is somewhat odd. First, a small fraction of the Austrian army is attributed an outstanding courage. Then we learn about weak performance of the Italian army that was trying to break through the Austrian lines. What seems to be missing is a clear statement how the two sentences are to be connected. What was the reason for the Italian army's failure? The text does not explicitly mention any but there is no doubt what most students would regard as a reason.

They would intuitively recognize in /1/ the implicature that it must be the courage of the Slovene and Croatian regiments that was the reason for the Italian army's failure. However, more than intuition is needed to explain how they would recognize such an implicature. Let me put it this way: In his/her search for the implicated meaning an interpreter would activate the following background assumption:

/2/ If an army is composed of some brave regiments the opposite army can not break through its lines even if twice as big.

More precisely, an interpreter would make the following assumption: The author had access to the assumption /2/ and used it in the production of the fragment as he/she assumed that the assumption /2/ is also part of the background knowledge the interpreter has and thus the author and the interpreter share. What the interpreter has to do now - according to the authors of relevance theory - is some deductive reasoning. He/she uses the selected background assumption as a premise for some conclusion.

After having retrieved the assumption /2/ from his/her memory the interpreter is in fact supposed to draw his/her conclusion from two premises:

/3/ Premise 1: If an army is composed of some brave regiments the opposite army can not break through its lines even if twice as big.

Premise 2: The Austrian army was composed of some brave Slovene and Croatian regiments.

Conclusion 1: The courage of the Slovene and Croatian regiments caused the Italian army's failure.

Premise 1 is derived from a background representation which is easily accessible in our culture. The representation of heroic fighting leading to a triumph over a stronger enemy is broadly distributed in it.

As the authors of relevance theory might argue, this is an oversimplified version of the process going on in an interpreter's mind. They pay attention to the fact that implicatures may be characterized by some degree of indeterminacy, i.e., premises and conclusions may be strongly or weakly implicated. An interpreter may be only weakly encouraged to use a background assumption as the implicated assumption (Sperber & Wilson, 1986, 109). Besides, he/she may not use exactly the same assumption a speaker (an author) implicated in his/her utterance. He/she only tries to come as close to it as possible. Sperber and Wilson know that in communication there is no duplication of thoughts but only a possible increase in mutuality of different individuals' cognitive environments (Sperber and Wilson, 1986, 200).

Let us have a closer look at example /1/. There is no context linking the second statement to the first one. An interpreter can only construct such a context by selecting an adequate background assumption or a set of background assumptions. How does he/she do that? What makes him/her believe that the assumption formulated in premise 1 is the most adequate background assumption he/she can use in order to link the second statement to the first one, and to recover the implicit meaning of the second statement?

Classical versions of pragmatic theory pay little if any attention to the question just raised. The context is generally seen as something given and known by both the author and the interpreter of a statement, and knowledge of the context is considered as the interpreter's point of departure. According to relevance theory knowledge of the context is something resulting from inferential interpretation of utterances. What Sperber and Wilson consider as given is not the context but relevance of what is communicated (Sperber and Wilson, 1986, 142). More precisely, they claim that utterances communicate to interpreters the presumption of their optimal relevance (Sperber and Wilson, 1986, 162).

One of the crucial points relevance theory made in this framework is in the following: When interpreting semantically incomplete utterances interpreters are going to select the background assumptions that can produce the strongest possible effect in their cognitive environment, requiring at the same time from interpreters the least possible effort. What determines the degree of relevance of a background assumption is the ratio between the effort that processing of an assumption would require from an interpreter, and the effect that processing has on an interpreter's cognitive environment.

An additional question emerges: When can be a cognitive effect considered as strong? According to Sperber and Wilson it can be considered as such if new information resulting from inference process modifies or improves importantly assumptions an interpreter entertained so far, and improves significantly his/her representations of the world. There would be strong effect if a conclusion causes an

old assumption to be abandoned or if it strengthens an old assumption by providing new evidence for it (Sperber and Wilson, 1986, 109).

Let us now return to /1/. I said that in order for an interpreter to use premise 1 in his/her interpretation of /1/, he /she must have access to an adequate background assumption. The latter becomes - together with the interpreter's assumption that the speaker has a share in it – the cognitive basis for the interpreter's production of premise 1.

Suppose the interpreter is someone who has good knowledge of Slovene language but no knowledge of what Slovenes think of themselves in terms of courage. Could he/she produce premise 1 after having read /1/? The authors of relevance theory would give a negative answer to this question. Premise 1 can not be used by the interpreter if he/she has no access to the set of assumptions containing the assumption from which premise 1 is derived.

### **An impasse in relevance-theoretical account**

No matter what potential relevance theory might have for textbook research – or more precisely, for explaining how students interpret semantically incomplete textbook discourse – it still has some deficiencies. First of all, what relevance theory is focused on are implicit meanings or implicatures. They are sensed to be the implicit part of a linguistic message structure. Relevance theory almost completely overlooks an interesting aspect of the reasoning process triggered by such semantically incomplete text surface structures as /1/. Namely, the implicated premise 1 is just a means an interpreter uses to inferentially reconstruct the author's implicit message. It is not part of the message. The author did not transmit this premise to students. It is only true that the latter access a background representation and produce this premise in view of getting a coherent message. This, however, does not diminish the importance of premise 1. Its representational content defines the perspective in which interpreters are to view the author's second statement in /1/ ('the Italian army could not break through the front line') as well as to look for the connection between the first and the second statement. This is something relevance theory has not accounted for.

There is another weak point in the relevance-theoretical account. When interpreting a semantically incomplete text interpreters are supposed to make inferences that, according to Sperber and Wilson, are of deductive nature. A question arises as to that nature.

Deduction is a 'water-tight' construction; the conclusion is necessary if the premises are true. Now, let us consider once more premise 1: 'If an army is composed of some brave regiments the opposite army can not break through its lines even if twice as big.' Its meaning is by no means as categorical as the meaning of premise 3 in:

/4/ Premise 3: All men are mortal.

Premise 4: Socrates is a man.

Conclusion 2: Socrates is mortal.

Premise 3 is as categorical as possible whereas premise 1 implicitly introduces a continuum of possible meanings, something like: The braver the regiments are, the harder it is for the opposite army to break through the front line. Above I have formulated conclusion 1 in the way in which Sperber and Wilson would formulate it: 'The courage of the Slovene and Croatian regiments caused the Italian army's failure.' Due to the continuum introduced in premise 1 the formulation of the conclusion is much too categorical (according to Sperber and Wilson, conclusions inherit uncertainty from premises). In fact, the conjecture-like nature of conclusion 1 would be better reflected in 'It must be the courage of the Slovene and Croatian regiments that caused the Italian army's failure.' The epistemic modal verb in 'it must be' does not really express necessity but rather uncertainty.

Would it not be more reasonable to assume that due to such uncertainty interpretation of fragments like /1/ takes form of something different from deduction, something that could be described as tentative, conjecture-like or hypothesis-like cognitive activity?

### **Abduction instead of deduction**

C. S. Peirce has provided us with the concept of abduction which I believe gives a much better description of the cognitive activity in question than the concept of deduction used in relevance theory. For Peirce, abduction is, along with induction and deduction, one of the three modes of reasoning or inferring. In his work abduction is often associated with making a hypothesis or conjecture. He wrote that abduction "is, after all, nothing but guessing" (Peirce, 7.219). Abduction is motivated "by the feeling that a theory is needed to explain the surprising facts" (Peirce, 7.220). He also wrote that "abduction seeks a theory" (Peirce, 7.218). Here is an example of abductive inference:

Suppose I enter a room and there find a number of bags, containing different kinds of beans. On the table, there is a handful of white beans; and, after some searching, I find one of the bags contains white beans only. I at once infer as a probability, or as a fair guess, that this handful was taken out of that bag... (Peirce, 2.623)

Sperber's and Wilson's discussion of deductive reasoning is similar to that of logicians. Namely, it refers to relations between logical propositions. Peirce's account of deduction, induction and abduction is about a different kind of relations, those established between components of actions or processes. He does not speak of premises and conclusions but of cases, rules and results. One might find in that some sort of logic of explanation of causal (or quasi-causal) phenomena. Here is how Peirce conceived of three types of inferences: If a general rule and a case are given, we deduce a result. If a case (or several cases) and a result are given, we induce a general rule. If a rule and a result are given, we can infer – abduce – a case. But if only a result is given then we can abduce a rule as well as a case. Considering this last possibility, Peirce wrote that »very curious circumstances ... would be explained by the supposition that it was the case of a certain general rule« (Peirce, 2.623 – 2.625).

Let us assume that what the gap in /1/ triggers in an interpreter is abductive and not deductive reasoning. Can we reconstruct that reasoning? A result can be found in the second statement in /1/: 'In eleven offensives the Italian army that was twice as big could not break through the front line.' A rule may be recognized in the background assumption that students access while interpreting /1/: 'If an army is composed of some brave regiments the opposite army can not break through its lines even if twice as big.' The abductive reasoning about what caused the Italian army's failure to break through the Austrian lines leads to establishing a case. Here is the whole scheme:

/5/ Result: In eleven offensives the Italian army that was twice as big as the Austrian army could not break through the front line.

Inference to a rule: If an army is composed of some brave regiments the opposite army can not break through its lines even if twice as big.

Inference to a case (to a cause): It must be the courage of the Slovene and Croatian regiments that prevented the Italian army to break through the front line.

The brave Slovene and Croatian regiments' stopping the Italian army is thought to be a case of a general rule. This fits well with what Peirce said about abduction. In abduction, he said, we depart from a result and infer to a rule and a case or to a case of a general rule.

A student making such an abduction could be regarded as not just using a background representation as a support for an inference to a case. He/she should rather be seen as having been induced by /1/ to (temporarily) appropriate a perspective established by that background representation. The condition for the fragment /1/ (or its author) to exert that power - to so act upon a student - is in that the latter has to have access to a background representation that fits with the incomplete context the text proposes, and has reason to assume that the author has access to the same background representation, expecting him/her (i.e. the student) to have access to it too, etc.

How important this is becomes clear if we consider an alternative or perhaps completive abduction that example /1/ might also trigger in a student. It is quite probable that nearly all users of the history textbook from which example /1/ is taken have access to a stereotypical background representation of Italian soldiers as 'lacking courage'. (The question of the role such stereotypes have in nationalistic ideologies exceeds the limits of this paper.) The following abduction might also fill in the gap in example /1/:

/6/ Result: In eleven offensives the Italian army that was twice as big as the Austrian army could not break through the front line.

First inference to a rule: If an army is composed of soldiers who lack courage it can not break through a front line even if twice as big as the opposite army.

Second inference to a rule: In battlefields Italian soldiers (as a rule) lack courage.

Inference to a case: It must be the Italian soldiers' lack of courage that prevented the Italian army from breaking through the front line.

Are the two abductions connected? The first inference to a rule in /6/ is different from inference to the rule in /5/ in that it involves an inversion of perspectives. Instead of taking courage as a way to victory /6/ takes lack of courage to be a way to defeat. As a matter of fact, /1/ can be sensed to encourage an interpreter to combine both perspectives. First, an outstanding courage is explicitly attributed to a small fraction of one army and presented as a possible cause for the opposite army's failure. This makes it natural for an interpreter to activate a background representation in which lack of courage is attributed to the opposite army. The two attributions can be seen as complementary.

To say that almost every Slovene student has easy access to the representation of Italian soldiers as 'lacking courage' does not entail that he/she believes this to be the case. Rather, he/she should be regarded as representing others to represent Italian soldiers in this way. That is, a reader who makes the second inference to a rule in /6/ part of his interpretation of /6/ does not need to entertain any specific propositional attitude (such as belief) to the object-proposition.

Perhaps this brief survey of a textual fragment from a history textbook provides us an illustration of the 'mind-management' students are exposed to when interpreting semantically incomplete textbook discourse. It may also suggest – somewhat paradoxically – that norms of political correctness affecting the textbook discourse surface structure sometimes worsen the situation. It is hard for a student to fight the ideas contained in implicit parts of messages and even harder for him to fight those contained in background representations he is induced to activate while interpreting semantically incomplete textbook discourse.

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# **Citizenship and moral education in religious education textbooks**

Inga Balčiūnienė and Natalija Mažeikienė

## **Introduction**

In recent years an ongoing debate has taken place in articles on the issue of education, namely religious education, concerning interconnection between religious, moral and citizenship education (e.g. Jackson, 2004; Gearon, 2004). There is a close link between these fields of education, since each of them covers issues related to national, religious, ethnical and cultural identity. The main question with which the paper deals is how religious education can contribute to enhancing understanding on citizenship and educating democratic, participative and responsible citizens.

Recently the emergence of new social identities, social and intellectual plurality has influenced the concept of citizenship which displays tension between different types of global, local, national (nation-state) and cultural citizenship. "The notion of citizenship has been undergoing dramatic transformation through trans-national initiatives in global and local citizenship. While feminist, environmentalist, human rights and other movements have been advocating new types of global citizenship; many local forms of cultural citizenship have been advanced to make claims about public rights and responsibilities based on the public recognition of difference. In such cases, citizenship calls upon loyalties that are not exclusively defined by national citizenship" (Chidester, 2004, 31). Since we face the fact that many citizens have local and global ties and commitments beyond those to the nation-state, the idea that citizenship is only to do with rights and responsibilities granted and expected by the nation-state needs should be revised (Jackson, 2004).

As the concept of citizenship is changing, the role of religious education changes as well: the joint forces of secularization, plurality and globalization have made this association of Christian, moral and civic education no longer fulfilling the current educational needs (Jackson, 2004a). In Europe religious education traditionally is equated with the Christian (namely - Catholic) religion. The Christian faith is considered as the basis of morality and citizenship. Since the tension between Christian orientated religious education and new forms of citizenship is emerging, the role of religious education should be re-discussed and re-thought. Critical and reflective approaches to religious education could have a valuable contribution to citizenship education. Revised religious education could play an important role in civic education, especially in terms of understanding various aspects of social and cultural plurality.

Some authors are critical of religious education as a basis for a socially cohesive civic education in secular and plural society (e.g. Hargreaves, 1994). The problem, according to David Hargreaves, is “how to find some social cement to ensure that people with different moral, religious, and ethical values as well as social, cultural and linguistic traditions can live together with a degree of harmony” (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 31).

In Lithuania the concept of citizenship was defined after Lithuania regained its independence, some 15 years ago. The content of education for citizenship was based on solidification of nation-state political and moral values. However, the impact of globalization processes in all areas of social and economic life has become evident in Lithuania. Since Lithuania's accession to the European Union social, economic and cultural exchanges have become more intensive, emigration and immigration flows have increased, consequently social and cultural plurality in the state is also increasing. Accordingly citizenship, religious and moral education requires deeper reflection on new identities, cultural and social plurality. Following the assumption that religious, moral and citizenship education should be closely related, a new discussion has arisen in Lithuania on what religious, moral and civic values should be developed in religious, citizenship and moral education to meet new challenges. The authors of this paper have attempted to find an answer to the questions: What type of citizenship, what civic and moral values does religious education develop in Lithuania? Could religious education in Lithuania contribute to citizenship and moral education? The answer to these questions is provided by content analysis of Lithuanian textbooks on religious education (grades 5-10) and by giving recommendations for improving religious education so that it could help to develop different forms of citizenship and meet current educational needs in Lithuania.

### **Content analysis of Lithuanian religious education textbooks: identification of citizenship and morality dimensions**

In Lithuanian basic schools religious education is realized by teaching the subject ‘Faith’ for grades 5-10. This subject is based on the values and doctrine of the Christian Catholic faith. Teachers are confirmed and accredited by the catechetic centre of the Catholic Church. It is an elective subject. The parents of students have an opportunity to choose from either the Christian Catholic Faith or Ethics. The subjects are similar because both have elements of religious and moral education.

Textbooks of religious education (‘Faith’) have been chosen for the analysis. After content analysis of 6 textbooks for grades 5-10 several dimensions of citizenship and morality have been found. These dimensions are presented here according to the frequency of their occurrence in the textbooks (see Figure 1).

The first dimension of citizenship found in religious education textbooks is *national identity*. The issues of national identity are revealed as a direct or indirect idea of the topic. As a direct element it is found in narrations of important Lithuanian historical



events, in discussions and stories about national, traditional customs and holidays, Lithuanian symbols and their symbolic meanings, legends, pagan rituals and pagan deities. Students are introduced to the establishment and development of Lithuanian parishes, dioceses and monasteries, the activities of bishops, Lithuanian clergy, and monks. They also learn about worship rituals and worship customs practiced in Lithuania and are acquainted with other religions, which are practised in Lithuania.

As an indirect element it is revealed through stories about some political or social situations in Lithuania, stories by Lithuanian writers, and poems. It is developed through different references to national, cultural and historic values, pieces of art, linguistic characteristics of the national language, references to celebrities, and places of interest. Illustrations in the textbooks also reveal ethnical motifs and elements.

Historical figures and modern celebrities are often mentioned. Analysis of the national history, development of the state, analysis of the national anthem, and stories by the state leaders about our parents, ancestors are found in practical tasks. The features of our national character are discussed. Students are encouraged to identify themselves as citizens of Lithuania, having their own culture, symbols, history, legends, and traditions.

*Discussion skills*, reasoning and argumentation abilities, an ability to summarize are one more dimension of citizenship that is found in the textbooks through content analysis. There is even one separate topic aimed at the formation and development of discussion skills. It describes the concept of discussion and teaches the principles of discussion; specific steps, features and rules of discussion are given. Students are trained through practical tasks (e.g., to hold a debate on a given topic, a debate between creationists and evolutionists). An ability to discuss, give arguments and reason are constantly developed through practical tasks.

The third dimension is *Responsibility*. It is developed through teachings, stories, and practical tasks. Students not only get knowledge, but they are also educated through attitudes and skills. The categories found in the textbooks are: responsibility for the environment (the texts disclose the importance of clean environment, students are taught how to keep it clean, what to do in order to protect and save it for other generations), responsibility for their own and other people's health and life, responsible thinking about their own future, responsibility for a neighbour, responsible to help and care about a neighbour, responsibility and respect for their parents, responsibility in a family (it is described as an ability and duty to understand and satisfy another person's needs), responsible preparation for family life, responsibility for their own decisions, behaviour and actions and a responsible use of freedom.

*Tolerance* is the fourth dimension found in the textbooks. The texts illustrate gender equality (equal status and worth, equal moral standards). Men and women are described as complementing each other, as both are created in the image of God. Students are encouraged to be tolerant towards people with different views, different

opinions or different sexual orientations. The ideas of stratum equality, racial, national, lingual, cultural equality, and religious tolerance are often found in the stories. A positive attitude towards Judaism and Jews is exclusively stressed. Jews are described as people who have contributed to Lithuanian cultural and economic life. Disabled people are described as being of the same importance as any other person in society.

*Communication and group work abilities* are developed in the textbooks through the stories that tell how to act in group work, how to take care of others, and how to help each other in co-operative work. The importance of socialization, communication in social relations is stressed. A human being is presented as a member of society. The techniques of communication are revealed. Communication skills are also developed through practical tasks.

*Individuation* is one more dimension of citizenship. Stories reveal what a person's individuality is. An ability to be an autonomous person who is able to think, solve his/her problems, and make reasonable decisions is to be developed. An ability to choose right goals and means in decision making as well as the importance of individuality is stressed – an ability to resist pressure of other people, to resist popular actions. Students are encouraged to be determined. Individuation is also developed through practical tasks (e.g., self analysis).

The importance and the use of *social activity* are found in the stories of the textbooks. The idea to help the socially excluded and disadvantaged, the poor and the sick and engage in charity work is developed. Social activities are encouraged through practical tasks (e.g., task to visit shelters, to do some charity work).

*Self-discipline* is an ability to control negative emotions, to think before saying or doing something, an ability to think about the consequences of actions. Self-discipline is developed through stories, particular advice how to train (develop) strong will and through the practical tasks. Personal development is very important.

One of the most important ideas of the topic (*discussion abilities*) is referred to as *an ability to compromise*. While developing discussion abilities much attention is paid to the ability to find an agreement, to reconcile.

*Honesty* occurs as an indirect element of the topic but as an important part of the story. Honesty is expressed as telling the truth. As a direct idea of the topic it is also developed in the stories. Honest behaviour with other people and with oneself is taught through knowledge, attitudes and practical tasks.

*Superiority of Christianity* is expressed through four thematic elements. First – a Pagan religion and Christianity. A Pagan religion is described as based on fear, obscurity, and sacrificial bribery. Second, the Christian religion is described as related to positive feelings and values: love, trust, and hope. Third - Christianity and other religions. Christianity is presented as having more coherent and consistent ideology. Fourth - Christianity and superstition. Belief in magic, spiritualism,

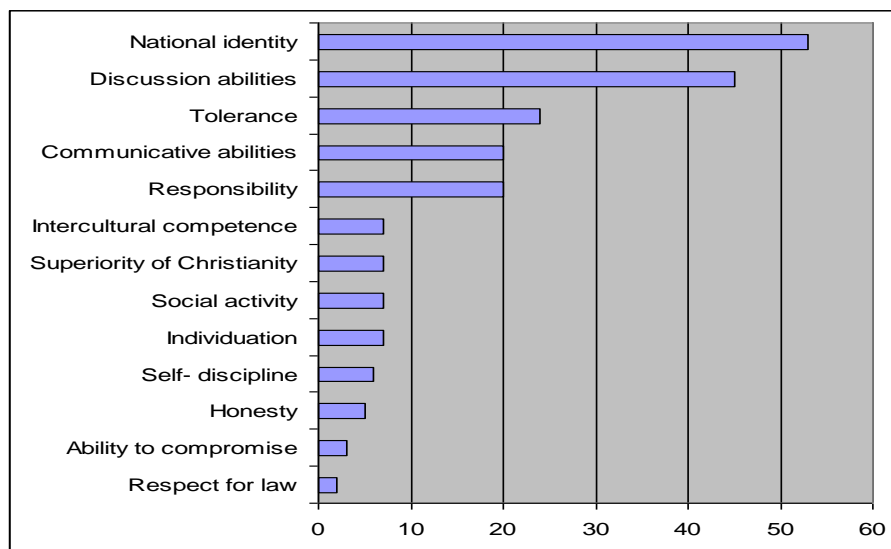
horoscopes is described as harming the body and soul, leading to crime, madness and suicide.

*Intercultural competence* is developed through the description of world festivals and traditions. The history of Lithuania and the world, Lithuanian historical figures and the figures of the world are compared. Events from world history are described. Architectural buildings of the world are presented. References to solidarity, help for deprived, poor nations, are given. This category is expressed in a very weak form.

*Respect for law* comes as an indirect idea. The meaning and the necessity of the law is discussed.

### Citizenship and morality dimensions: frequency of occurrence

It can be seen from Figure 1 that national identity, as a dimension, is most often expressed in the content of religious education textbooks. Apart from national identity, discussion and argumentation skills, tolerance, communication skills and responsibility are expressed more often in textbooks than other dimensions. Intercultural competence, superiority of the Christian religious identity, social activities, individuation, self-discipline, and honesty are sometimes expressed. An ability to compromise and respect for law are very rarely expressed.



**Figure 1.** Frequency of occurrence of citizenship and morality dimensions in religious education textbooks

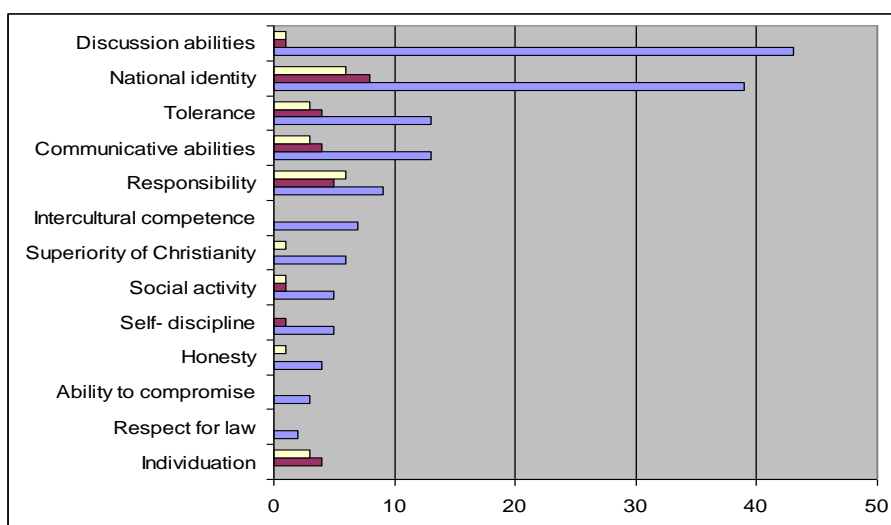
### Dimensions of citizenship and morality: intensity of expression

Taking into account that the discussed dimensions are not always expressed apparently and do not coincide with the main topic of the lesson we tried to classify the dimensions not only according to frequency of occurrence but also according to the form and intensity of expression. A three scale model was created to measure the expression of categories. Citizenship and morality dimensions from the textbooks were evaluated by using a three-level scale (high, medium, low):

“1” (high) – a dimension is expressed directly: it is the main topic or the main idea of the thematic unit or lesson. It is clearly pointed out and is easily recognized by pupils, this dimension is developed by giving knowledge, building attitudes and skills (it is expressed through story plots and through narration, practical tasks).

“2” (medium) - a dimension is one of several main ideas presented in the thematic unit / lesson (the main ideas and topics are religious ones) or this dimension is not developed on all three levels of competence (knowledge, skills, attitudes).

“3” (low) – a dimension is expressed indirectly, is obscure or a peripheral idea of the thematic unit / lesson or it is developed by performing practical tasks.



**Figure 2.** Degree of intensity of the citizenship dimensions occurrence in religious education textbooks by using a three-level scale

It can be seen from Figure 2 that *national identity* and *discussion abilities* are very strongly expressed; *tolerance*, *communicative abilities* and *responsibility* are quite strongly expressed. However, there is a lack of education of such dimensions of citizenship as *intercultural competence*, *social activity*, *ability to compromise*, and *respect for law*.

## Conclusion

Content analysis of religious education textbooks revealed that religious education in Lithuania develops not only religious identity, but a certain type of religiosity. Moreover, it contributes to education of responsible, active and intellectual citizens. It should be admitted that the idea of “multi-faith” religious education which creates conditions for inter-cultural and inter-religious communication is not realized in these textbooks. Prevalence of the national identity dimension and poor presentation of different religious, cultural practices and worldviews in the textbooks allows one to come to the conclusion that nation-state citizenship is educated. Other types of citizenship (global, local and cultural) are not educated enough. Thus, revision of goals, tasks and forms of citizenship and religious education in Lithuania should be made in order to provide, according to R. Jackson (2004a), a genuine forum for a dialogue between students and teachers from different religious and non-religious backgrounds and for learning skills to interpret, reflect upon and gain insights into different worldviews.

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# **Prehistory and the Construction of a European Identity in German History Textbooks Today**

Miriam Sénécheau

## **Introduction**

Prehistory and archaeology have often been used to establish a national identity through the political interpretation of finds and ancient cultures. Some well-known examples are the French recourse to the Celts, the Spanish identification with the Celtiberians and the German exploitation of ancient Germanic history in the 19<sup>th</sup>/20<sup>th</sup> century. Ideas that shaped national identity were, in these epochs, put in schoolbooks in order to contribute to pupils' education and to influence their conception of the world (Marienfeld, 1979; Ruiz-Zapatero & Alvarez-Sanchís, 1995). In Germany this phenomenon found its peak during the time of National Socialism. The textbooks spread ideas based on race and glorified the very ancient German past, referring (among other things) to prehistoric archaeology (Hassmann, 2002; Marienfeld, 1979).

How is history presented today? A broad analysis of German textbooks shows evidence to the fact that prehistoric and antique times are still used for political education. But the ideas have changed: 'Multi-ethnicity', 'European identity' and 'open borders' are the ideas that are taught today. The "growing together of Europe" and the "meeting of different cultures" have become new key concepts in the German school curricula, especially in the subjects history and politics.

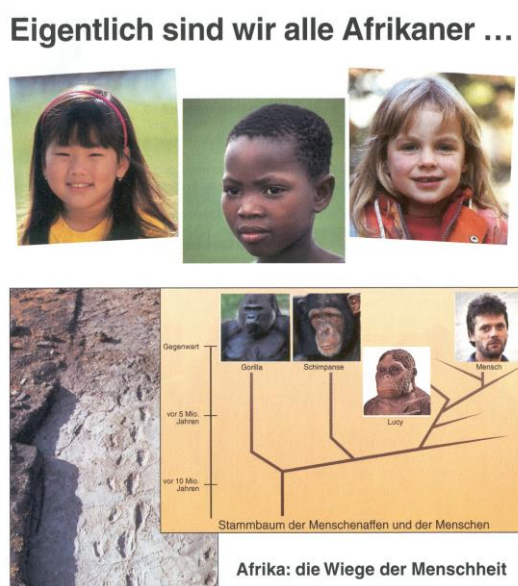
The following examples show how these ideals influence the content of today's schoolbooks. These examples are taken from an analysis of 47 history books that are presently being used in German schools. They were written for pupils in their first year of history classes at secondary school. Depending on the Bundesland (Federal State) and the school type, this corresponds to the 5<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> form. I have examined the chapters on prehistoric and archaeological topics within the framework of my doctoral thesis in archaeology. My perspective and critique are therefore archaeological, not didactical or pedagogical.

This contribution will proceed chronologically, from the time of the first humans, through the Stone Age, the Bronze Age, the time of the Celts, and up to the Romans in the provinces north of the Alps. The text will concentrate on examples referring to political identity in the sense of multi-ethnicity, European identity and open borders. Please note that these ideas are only one part of other political and social ideals that one can find in chapters about prehistory. The concept of gender and family in schoolbook texts and illustrations for example, or the construction of regional or national identity, with the help of archaeology, are other topics of major interest not

discussed in this article (see Sénécheau, 2005; Sénécheau in print). Quotations from these books will be translated into English, but the original texts are in German.

### *Evolution of man: teaching multi-ethnicity*

Traditional illustrations of evolution almost always show white people with a human of the European type standing at the end of the development (e.g. Cornelsen, 1994, 17). These pictures with one kind of human walking behind the other in the schoolbooks are usually based on scientific models from the 1960s (e.g. Howell, 1969, 42-45). It is due to new scientific trends that some of the recent German history textbooks show pictures of early humans as being black (e.g. Schroedel 2001, 12). The books also explain that evolution has led to different races, types and colours all over the world (e.g. Cornelsen, 2000, 24f.). Charts on this subject often illustrate the origin of modern man in Africa and his spreading over the entire world (e.g. Westermann, 2001a, 69). The message of most of the new pictures and charts is: 'We all have a common origin. We are all the same. And at the very beginning, we were all black.' One title of a schoolbook chapter even says: "In fact, we are all Africans ..." (Schöningh, 1998, 22).



**Figure 1.** "In fact, we are all Africans... ".  
The subtitle says: "Africa, origin of mankind" (Schöningh, 1998, 22).

Some of the scientists contradict this "Out-of-Africa" model and believe that homo sapiens could have developed separately in different places of the world ("multi-regional" model, see Auffermann & Orschiedt, 2002, 28f.). The schoolbooks studied



usually don't mention this disagreement among anthropologists. This is certainly not only due to the fact that the material would otherwise be too complicated. I believe that the "Out-of-Africa" model is more suited to a concept that aims to educate pupils today to be cosmopolitan, against racism and for a global world in which skin colour is not to play a role.

In contrast to the ideals that the new illustrations about the evolution of man convey, there are chapters or pictures intending to show that there are people who, "even today", live like in the Stone Age. Corresponding to keywords given in the curricula, peoples such as the Aborigines, the Papuans, the Bambuti or the Pygmies are frequently presented and characterized as modern-day Stone Age cultures – as if they had remained at this "stage of development" (e.g. Westermann, 1994, 40f.; Oldenbourg, 1992, 26). In one schoolbook you can even read the term "cave inhabitants" to describe a people from the Philippines in comparison to Neanderthal man shown as 'cave man' (Schöningh, 1995, 16f.). There is one example of a page in a schoolbook that deals with the topic critically and, in my opinion, correctly (Buchner, 2001, 22): "Are these peoples testimony to the Stone Age?" the text asks, and answers: "No." It explains that indigenous peoples have a history in the course of which they repeatedly adapted to new living conditions. In fact, the tools they use are not a sign of primitiveness. They live in complex social systems, they have their myths and their religion. They do not "remain" in the Stone Age, they are living today. In my opinion, the authors of curricula and of the schoolbooks should give up this tradition of looking to the indigenous peoples in history teaching. This subject could be very interesting in geography classes without assessing any "stage of development".

### ***"Frozen Fritz" and the "European nation"***

Traditionally, for the later epochs after the Palaeolithic Age, German schoolbooks present almost exclusively archaeological finds from Germany or from certain German regions. But there is one important topic which makes an exception: In 1991 there was an important find at the border between Austria and Italy, not far from Switzerland – the Iceman, also known as "Frozen Fritz", in German "Ötzi". He is mentioned in every new schoolbook.

It is interesting to note how the question of his origin is answered in one text example (Cornelsen, 2000, 18): "Who was Ötzi?" the authors ask, and they present a description of a man. The text states that origin and place of birth of the man are unknown. However, the next key words are "nationality: European". The motive for this classification is understandable: after the discovery there was a great argument concerning which nation, Austria or Italy, the Iceman belonged to, who had the right to examine him and to display him in a museum (Fleckinger & Steiner, 2003, 10-26). When the location was finally declared to be South Tyrol, and thus Italy, they agreed that a European team of experts was to study the mummy in Austria and that it would then be displayed in a museum in South Tyrol. The fact that the find is called "European" in the schoolbooks shows that these disagreements should not

play such an important role, and that it was a find of such importance that all Europeans could identify with it.

However, apart from the fact that even today there is no "European" nation, such a procedure is absolutely anachronistic. Nations did not appear until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, over 5,000 years after the Iceman's lifetime. *He* knew nothing about nationalities. In my opinion this example shows that the authors of schoolbooks made "Ötzi" into a European because they were searching for a European identity that they could convey to the pupils.<sup>1</sup>

***Trade in the Bronze Age: parallels to the European (trade) Community?***

Europe also serves as an important place of reference for the "Metal Ages". For example, one of the schoolbooks shows a chart with the title "Europe in the Bronze Age" (Klett, 1994, 31). The chart illustrates deposits of copper, tin, and amber and especially the presumed trade routes. The title of the accompanying text reads "Contacts to other peoples via trade" and is followed by the words: "Proper trade routes developed that the traders travelled along to exchange their goods (...). The profession of the trader was interesting but also very dangerous (...). Besides his wares, he brought news of other peoples and regions with him, so that now the people learned more from each other."

People learn from each other, trade binds – that sounds very much like a policy suited to the European Community. It is certainly true that in the Bronze Age the exchange in the broader sense was increased because of the increased trade. However, at that time Europe did not yet exist as a single market, and trade did not stop at the borders of Europe like on this map. Behind the map there is a Euro-centred view that exaggerates the importance of Europe. But it is not only a view of the schoolbook authors. Up until today the scientific community itself has been producing such maps, and the problem still exists that research is limited by artificial borders that do not correspond to the situation in the past (when finds made in another country are not accessible or the language and therefore the literature of the neighbouring country are difficult to understand).

***Iron Age: European unity by Celtic culture?***

"Celts, Romans, early Germans – our ancestors in Europe" is the title of a schoolbook chapter dealing with topics of the Iron Age and Roman civilisation north of the Alps (Oldenbourg, 1998, 4f.). As members of these nations, illustrations of "married couples" – the German text says "Ehepaare" – are presented, affixed to a map of Europe. The Celts are often used to claim an early cultural unity in Europe. This "oldest people of Europe" was said to have spread out from its original region on the Danube and the Rhine, bringing its language and culture as far as Asia, Spain, and Ireland (charts e.g. in bsv 1992, 28; Diesterweg, 2001, 32). In some of the

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<sup>1</sup> The editor was informed about the problem and changed the personal description in the following editions.

textbooks they are said to have left their traces everywhere, especially in regions like Brittany, Wales, Ireland and Scotland, in the form of "Celtic traditions". Sagas, myths, heroic tales, the Celtic languages like Gaelic and Irish as well as Celtic names of rivers and places are mentioned (e.g. Klett, 2000, 32; Schroedel, 2000, 39). The message of these schoolbook pages is that present-day commonalities of some European regions are the result of a common history that stretches back into the Iron Age. From a present-day scientific standpoint, this is absolutely wrong.

First of all, one should not, like in one example, choose Stonehenge of all places as a symbol for Celtic culture (Cornelsen, 2001, 47). The Megalithic cultures are relicts of the Neolithic period and have no connection with the Celts who lived nearly 2,000 years later. This popular cliché has existed since the Romantic era, when Celtic Druids and Megalithic monuments were erroneously associated with each other (Baum in Zimmer, 2004, 28). So-called Celtic sagas and myths were first written down in the Middle Ages and much later misleadingly called Celtic (Rieckhoff & Biel, 2001, 14f.). About 1,000 years lie between the historic Celts and the written records of such sagas. The concept "Celtic languages" is also misleading: the term "Celtic" for this group of languages originates in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It is the result of a misinterpretation of modern Bretonic which was then falsely thought to be the remnants of the language of the Celts who had lived in Gaul (Chapman, 1992, 70-75). There is however no linguistic continuity from the Celts until today. "Celtic traditions" are a product of the modern times, times in which people are searching for an identity and in which tour operators need good clichés in order to make holiday areas more attractive for tourists – today's Celtic music or the quilt have no connection with the archaeological Celts (Maier, 2000, 250ff.). On closer consideration, the cultural unity of the Iron Age is seen to be cultural diversity. Archaeological concepts like the Hallstatt and Latène culture reveal themselves to be artificial, meant to facilitate communication about archaeological material among the scientists (Collis, 2003). The "Celts" probably never existed as a unit, as a "people", neither according to the historical nor to the archaeological sources (Rieckhoff & Biel, 2001, 15f.; Chapman, 1992). From a scientific standpoint, they are therefore hardly suited to be a foundation for the creation of a united European identity.

The end of National Socialism also brought the end of the identification of the Germans with the early Germans in schoolbooks. Today, they are only sporadically referred to as "our ancestors" like in the example given above, where they are named with Celts and Romans together (Oldenbourg, 1998, 4f.).

### ***The "Roman roots of Europe"***

For the purpose of a didactic justification of the lessons on the Roman Empire, the curricula introduce certain teaching goals which combine the keywords "Roman culture" and "Europe". Thus the pupils are to learn, for example, that the Roman civilisation "was of great importance for the common European culture", they are to gain an "insight into the importance of Roman culture and civilisation for Europe "

and they are to become aware of the "Roman roots of Europe" (curriculum for 'Gymnasium' in Baden-Württemberg 1994, 156). At the end of the chapter on Roman history, the schoolbooks now act on these ideas by looking for traces of Roman culture in the present and in one's surroundings (with a special relationship to Europe e.g. Klett, 1999, 128f.). These can be: old Roman buildings and finds, examples of modern architecture which was influenced by Roman buildings, examples from law, the Latin alphabet and Latin numerals, the Latin language etc.

The Latin language is quite frequently used as an element that binds Europe. One example of a schoolbook page has the title "Latin – the language of Europe" (Buchner, 2002, 167). Words from different Romanic languages are compared. There is a map of Europe in the background. It is obvious that ancient Rome still has a great influence on our culture and history. This is not to be questioned here. And it is equally clear that Latin is a language that has influenced many other languages that are spoken in Europe today. But is it the language of Europe? It is also the language of Latin America. And it is not the language of some countries in Eastern Europe. It is only partly the language of Germany by virtue of many linguistic borrowings. The European languages have different roots, and this is not stated here. In my opinion, this example shows that the schoolbook authors are, for political and pedagogical reasons, desperately trying to create a unity where it in fact does not exist. They want to force European unity and for this purpose they are using the example of language which is not necessarily suitable.

#### *Ancient Rome and the European Community*



**Figure 2.** The Roman "Denarius" and the "Euro".

The title says "Roman antiquity and European present" (Cornelsen 2000, 195).

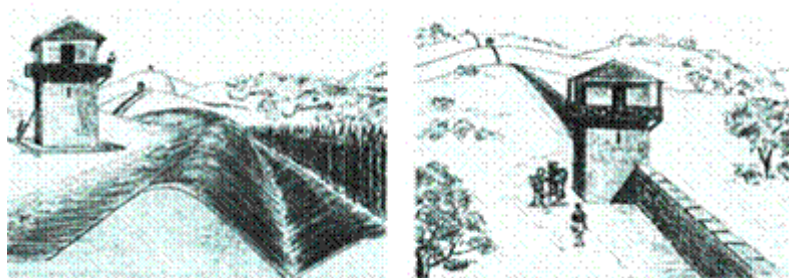
Analysing the textbooks of the recent years, one can find the increasing tendency to compare the Roman Empire to the European Community (e.g. Buchner 2001, 183). In one case, the Roman 'Denarius' is interpreted as an early type of the 'Euro' (Cornelsen, 2000, 195) (fig. 2). The text under the illustrations speaks of the advantages of a single market for trade: that the people in the Roman Empire could trade at stable prices with each other regardless of borders and that the goods were bought and sold within a wide-reaching trading network. Naturally this lends itself

to a comparison with the European Community. However there is a catch: in the cultures of those times, which mainly traded without the use of coins, the standardised monetary system was only a simplification for those who used it. And especially the Celtic and German cultures used coins in a way other than the Romans (Todd, 2000, 94f.). Trade connections existed long before – for example for important raw materials already in the Palaeolithic Age, several thousands of years earlier. Besides, borders in those times did not have the separating importance that today's national borders have, and trade "across borders" can therefore hardly be compared with the present-day situation (Whittaker, 1994).

### ***Romans and early Germans at the Limes***

This part of the contribution is about how, under the influence of pedagogical principles and a new historical view, the interpretation of the relationship between Romans and the Germanic people at the Limes, the border separating the Roman conquered land from the Germanic regions, has developed during the last 10 years. What was in earlier interpretations a place of violent conflict and a defence against the Germanic peoples, a line separating German tribes and Romans, has become a line where trade and cultural exchange took place. Pictures showing war and battles between Romans and German tribes at the Limes belong to an older generation of schoolbooks and have become rare (e.g. Klett, 1995a, 187f.) – today it is important to convey a picture of the peaceful co-existence of Romans and German tribes. In the following, this change will be illustrated by a series of Limes reconstructions from different schoolbooks.

Early reconstructions show a border fortification that is drawn endlessly through the landscape. There is no opening in the wall that could be passed through – the border is long and closed (e.g. Klett, 1994, 66) (fig. 3). Reconstructions like these go back to scientific models from the 1920s.



**Figure 3.** The Limes as a long and closed border (Klett 1994, 66).

In an early further development of this pattern, the Limes is still drawn a long distance through the landscape, but the illustration shows something new: a passage (bsv, 1995, 150). It is guarded by three soldiers. They are standing there although at this moment no one wants to cross the border.

In a next step the Limes is running over many hills, and a passage is guarded by soldiers (e.g. Cornelsen, 1994, 168). A horse-drawn wagon and two horsemen want to leave the Roman Empire. In the pictures of this type from the 1990s, people are always leaving the empire, but almost never does anyone set foot on the empire passing by way of the Limes in the other direction. This might be a coincidence, perhaps an illustrator once began this way and the others imitated the scenes. It is however also possible that a special historical view is depicted here: the interpretation of the border as protection from intruders or invaders, and the idea of Romans as conquerors or bringing culture over to the neighbouring, 'uncivilised' regions. The pattern of the illustration remains basically the same in the next step. There are the Limes with the tower, and again a trader leaving the Roman territory (Klett, 1995b, 248). But the soldier is no longer standing in the immediate area of the gate but at the base of the tower. He just observes the trader passing by.

In a still newer illustration people are – and this is new – passing in both directions (Volk und Wissen, 1998, 158). It was made in 1998 for the pupils of the new Federal States in the eastern part of Germany. The title of the corresponding text says: "The Limes binds Romans and early Germans" (Volk und Wissen, 1998, 161). Further on we read: "In times of peace the Limes was passable. How did the people take advantage of their freedom at the border? At the Limes and in the Roman legion cities, markets were held regularly." And in the following the authors write about travellers moving in both directions.



**Figure 4.** The Limes as a "meeting place" (Klett, 1999, 101).

In a picture from 1999, the Limes is practically unguarded (Klett, 1999, 100f.) (fig. 4). There is traffic in both directions, and trade. It is a very peaceful scene, and its effect is heightened by the use of very friendly colours. The title of the schoolbook chapter is: "Meeting place Limes: Even the might of Rome had its limits, it ended at the Limes. However, the border did not only separate Romans and Germanic tribes, it was also a meeting place." And there is an illustration of a Roman bridge at the bottom of the page which thus becomes a symbol of a bond between the peoples.

In another picture from the year 1999 you can again see the usual components of the Limes illustrations (Westermann, 2001b, 118): palisade through the landscape, tower, and soldiers. The soldiers are talking with each other in a friendly way. The main part of the illustration is in the foreground where Romans and Germans are trading with each other. Everyone is cheerful, and the children are playing together. The title of the entire chapter is: "Living together at Limes", the title of the picture: "Meeting place Limes".

One can find a similar situation in a schoolbook from 2001 (Klett-Perthes, 2001, 156-159): The title of the whole teaching unit is "Romans and early Germans – neighbours at the Limes"; the chapter about trade is called "Trade in the protection of the Limes" and shows a picture with "A Market at the Limes".

From a "bastion against the barbarians" to a "meeting place of the cultures". This change has nothing to do with adapting the historical view to new scientific discoveries – when archaeologists do excavations at the Limes, they always find the same things, roughly speaking: a ditch, a wall or earthwork, sometimes an opening and a tower. Anything else we can see in the illustrations is added to give the pupils a more vivid picture of what might have happened at these places. And this addition is a mirror for images of the past influenced by modern ideas. Of course, there has also been a change in the scientific interpretation of the Limes during the last years. But in the scientific community, the researchers speak of border regions or border corridors on both sides of the Limes and do not see it any longer as a selective "demarcation line" (Whittaker, 1994). The schoolbooks still depict a border line, only what is happening right next to this border has changed. These changes in the textbooks are indicative, in my opinion, of the changes and new understanding of inner-European borders in the present-day society. Today we want open border politics, peace and cultural exchange. This is the message that the pictures convey to the pupils. And it is surely no coincidence that economy and trade play an increasingly important role in these illustrations. The pictures reveal more about the respective society in which they were produced than about historical reality.

### ***Ancient Rome as a "melting pot of people"***

The fact that recent textbooks also emphasise the character of the Roman Empire as a 'melting pot of people and nations' and discuss the integration of different cultures and religions must also be seen as an answer to present-day problems. The key words are 'multi-ethnicity' then and now. This is especially obvious in schoolbooks for combined history and social studies. Recently they have been combining the ancient world and the modern with reference to topics like migration and integration or coexistence of different cultures (see fig. 5).

In one of the textbooks the title for the teaching unit (Klett, 1999) says: "Rome: many peoples in one empire". Three subsequent chapters of the teaching unit are titled: "They were all Romans. The living together of peoples in the Roman Empire", "People from other parts of the world also live among us", "Being a foreigner in Germany. It is sometimes not easy to be a foreigner". The introductory

text about the teaching unit explains: "Rome finally became a large empire in which many different peoples lived together. This was not always easy. And how is it today with us? People with different origins also live here. How do we deal with this? You can get answers to these questions in this chapter" (Klett, 1999, 90).



**Figure 5.** Illustration showing inhabitants of the Germanic provinces and Romans from Italy under the title "They were all Romans" (Klett, 1999, 107).

In another example the chapter "Romans and early Germans – neighbours at the Limes" is followed by the teaching unit "We live together with people from other cultural backgrounds" (Klett-Perthes, 2001; similar: Schroedel, 1999). A third book compares the foreigners' possibilities of obtaining the citizenship in ancient Rome and in Germany today (Westermann, 2001b, 125).

Typically, it is more the similarities between the situations in ancient times and today that are sought, than the differences – which were in fact considerable. This is why historians do not necessarily view the comparison as suitable.

## Conclusion

Most of the examples presented in this article are well-suited to the direction in which German educational policy wants its pupils to be educated: modern history lessons are expected to teach important values like tolerance and openness and they are supposed to develop the pupils' ability for democratic participation. The pupils are to become citizens of a multi-ethnic world and of a European Community with open borders. From our political and ethical point of view today, this is an approach of which we all approve. But answering the question whether history textbooks still use prehistory and archaeology to establish political identity, we have to state: Yes – only the ideas have changed. And these changes are not only to be seen as new scientific results. Rather, they are a mirror of our society and show how present-day questions and problems influence our interpretation and presentation of prehistory – even today.

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# **Analysing Motherhood in Primary School Textbooks: The Case of Spain during the first two Ministries of Education of the Franco Dictatorship (1939-1956)**

Kira Mahamud

This paper summarises part of a doctoral research project in progress. My aim is to analyse the representation, image, and projection of motherhood –and its universe–, as a social and symbolic phenomenon, in primary school textbooks during the first two Francoist Ministries of National Education (1939–1956).<sup>1</sup> Subsequent objectives include elucidating (a) the mechanisms implemented in order to construct and present a particular depiction of motherhood and (b) the motives that led to the construction and presentation of such a symbolic imagery of the universe of motherhood in primary schoolbooks.

## **Emotions in school textbooks**

I would like to present a new approach to the study of school textbooks. I am convinced that we can read and analyse school textbooks from a new angle. To be more precise, I propose the possibility of analysing schoolbooks focusing and rescuing an omnipresent element which has not been thoroughly examined within the context of school textbooks: emotions.

I have paid much attention to emotions in Spanish schoolbooks from the 1930's, 40's and 50's, and have discovered that they constitute a rich source of valuable information about: (a) educational intentions (intellectual education, aesthetic education, behaviour control); (b) educational and teaching strategies and practices (intimidation, tolerance, authoritarianism, indulgence); (c) ideological indoctrination (imposition of a given set of beliefs); and (d) the construction of individual and collective identities (gender and national identities).

The examination of the role of emotions in Spanish schoolbooks has revealed that they have been used as part of the strategies and mechanisms set forth in order to achieve the transmission of the established concepts and models of motherhood and fatherhood, femininity and masculinity, and family; as well as in the construction of the concepts and models of the true Spanish patriot and Catholic.

My hypothesis is that the emotionally charged phenomenon of motherhood was employed and manipulated by the New State and by the Catholic Church as an instrument for the transmission of their respective ideologies (patriotism; Francoism; Catholicism); and for the achievement of their political ambitions (demographic growth; maintenance of the *status quo*; legitimacy of the Regime; construction of a

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<sup>1</sup> Ministries of José Ibáñez Martín (1939-1951) and Joaquín Ruiz-Giménez y Cortés (1951-1956).

new national identity, return to old, traditional values, etc.). The strategies set forth to make such an instrumental use –political, ideological, and religious– of motherhood were various and varied, but their common denominator was to constitute it as (a) a source of social and individual pride; (b) a source and, at the same time, the symbolic space of unquestionable love and happiness; and (c) a sign of both individual and national feminine identity. This implied the manipulation of its emotional charge and of its social –and thus, individual– value. The State and the Church spoke and presented motherhood in highly favourable terms. This praising of motherhood was done in various forms and in different directions, but the most striking of all, found in school textbooks, is the symbolic abstraction constructed and presented to the children. I have called this process: an emotional-linguistic strategy in which emotional indoctrination is the main objective.

### *Emotions as key objects of study*

Why do I think it is worth exploring the emotions that are found in schoolbooks? Several reasons lead me to focus on emotions in school textbooks:

1. The fact that the school textbooks I have read and analysed are charged with particular emotions, which the children are told/taught/guided to feel, almost as an imposition from the authorities. The abundance of allusions and references to emotions both in school textbooks and in other books on education of the time has caught my attention. There are two possible explanations to this opulence:
  - a) General belief (and pride) at the time in the emotional and sentimental quality of the Spanish people.<sup>2</sup>
  - b) Emotional content of all ideological discourses. Emotions, ideology, and language are intimately related.
2. The conceptualisation of school textbooks as vehicles for the “teaching”, transmission, reinforcement and internal development of (particular)<sup>3</sup> emotions, through the use of language and illustrations.
3. The idea that post-war Spain can be perceived, from a psycho-sociological perspective, as a particularly intense emotional, socio-historical period of time.<sup>4</sup> The 1940’s and 1950’s are years of great emotional intensity. It is, however, those

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<sup>2</sup> Antonio Onieva, Chief Inspector of Primary Education in Madrid, was a firm believer and defender of the Spanish people’s sensibility and sentimentality. His book from 1939, *La nueva escuela española (The new Spanish school)* is flooded with references to the teaching of emotions and the importance of the sentimental dimension of education.

<sup>3</sup> What I am trying to say is that, obviously, schoolbooks do not and cannot “teach”, “show”, “transmit” all emotions. They are, in fact, selective and concentrate on those convenient and predominant emotions at the time.

<sup>4</sup> I was inspired by Lloyd deMause in *The Emotional life of Nations*. New York: Karnac Books, 2002. This thought applies to all socio-historical periods of time, because my argument is based on the fact that individual and collective emotions are always present. However, I think that certain historical periods possess a much heavier emotional load, in particular, warlike and post-warlike periods, for obvious reasons.

emotions which the victors experiment that are presented in schoolbooks because they are in power and control the writing and production of school textbooks. Patriotism and Catholicism are experienced and conceptualized, not only as the supreme social, political, and ideological beliefs, but as ways of feeling emotions towards certain things, events, and people; and even as emotions themselves. Three main emotions prevail at the time: National pride; love (towards God, the fatherland, the family, the mother, and children); and fear. In this respect, it is also necessary to bring out the fact that after the shame of the 1898 “National Disaster”<sup>5</sup> (the loss of the last colonies), the recent “poisoning II Republic”<sup>6</sup> and the cruel civil war, Spain’s victors proclaimed its people’s superiority and launched a national pride campaign. Thus, shame is another prevalent emotion portrayed in two directions: on the one hand, it guides the pride of the “new” Spanish man and woman who have overcome the feeling of inferiority inherited from the past; at the same time, it serves as a warning –in connection to fear– for those who dare to disagree or disobey. In both cases, shame proves to act as a powerful emotion which can control people’s actions (Scheff & Retzinger, 2000).

4. The study of emotions as psycho-sociological phenomena, conditioned by culture and society. I perceive emotions as internal activities of the individual; but they are learned, reflect values, contribute to the construction of reality and exert incalculable influence on human behaviour and thought (Damasio, 2003; Solomon, 1990, 2003). Many emotions possess cognitive, evaluative, and desiderative content (Stocker & Hegeman, 1996). Social recognition and status, for example, are needed for self-respect and self-esteem, and this happens not only at an individual level, but also at all levels of collectivity.

5. The definition of motherhood as a complex, symbolic, multidimensional process and phenomenon affected by a large number of factors: social, economic, political, cultural, religious, biological, psychological, physical, and emotional.

#### ***School textbooks constitute vehicles for the transmission of emotions***

In the schoolbooks I have read and analysed, the emotional-linguistic strategy is not disguised. “What matters is that the lesson penetrates deeply and leaves the heart trembling with emotion”<sup>7</sup> (Serrano de Haro, 1957, 6). These words are illustrative of the educational intention of school textbooks in our period of study. Agustín Serrano de Haro, Chief Inspector of Primary Education in the province of Granada, expresses himself openly in his preface to his school textbook entitled *Yo soy español (I am Spanish)*.

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<sup>5</sup> The loss of the last colonies: Puerto Rico, the Philippines and Cuba, meant the end of the Spanish Empire.

<sup>6</sup> Francoism saw the II Republic (14/04/1931 – 01/04/1939) as the *anti-España*, the heart of all evils.

<sup>7</sup> “Lo que importa es que la lección cale hasta lo hondo y deje la entrañas temblando de emoción.”

He calls the preface, “Some pieces of advice for educators”<sup>8</sup>, and he adds:

“We want them (the children) to start listening to exemplary names and heroic deeds; that God’s and Spain’s matters penetrate as if it were holy salt in the germinal yeast of their conscience. But not precisely because we want them to ‘know’. Not everything must consist in knowing, it is also very important to feel!” (*Ibidem*).<sup>9</sup>

Indeed, school textbooks emerge as ideal vehicles for the “teaching” of emotions. They constitute solid instruments for the transmission of selected information and official knowledge, for the development of collective and individual identities, as well as opinions and perceptions of reality. However, one aspect frequently ignored, taken for granted, and not given enough relevance is the fact that school textbooks also awaken, shape, give a direction, and strengthen (certain) emotions. The challenge is to analyse which particular emotions, why, and how. During the Francoist period under study, such an intention was not hidden, kept as a secret, or disguised. The idea that school teachers should make sure that their lessons affected children’s hearts was extended. Furthermore, it was necessary for them to be emotionally involved as well.

Carolyn Boyd, in her studies of Spanish national identity, discovers that the rhetoric of pedagogical discourse –especially during the 1940’s– focused on emotions, on instilling in children the capacity to feel the “warmth”, the “vibrancy”, the “sentiment”, the “will”, the “lyricism”, the “fervour”, and even the “madness” of the lessons (Boyd, 1997, 259). Schoolbooks, together with teachers who acted as mediators between the schoolbook and the pupil, collaborated in this emotional education and concentrated part of their efforts in teaching, transmitting and reinforcing a singular group of emotions.

### ***All we need is love: Love is everywhere in school textbooks***

Love is one of the most prevalent emotions in all the school textbooks I have analysed. Love is everywhere, openly displayed and explained in detail: children must love deeply, intensely, passionately, devotedly; and they are told that their mothers love them, God, and the fatherland in the same way. It is interesting to note that in a period of time characterised by hunger, misery, hatred, resentment, and pain, schoolbooks are full of references to love, and in particular, maternal and religious love. Of all human emotions, love could be considered one of the most difficult to use in the imperative form. In theory, it is complicated to compel anyone to love somebody or something. In fact, even maternal love has been called in question as a constant in history (Badinter, 1984).

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<sup>8</sup> “Algunas advertencias a los educadores.”

<sup>9</sup> “Queremos que empiecen a oír los nombres ejemplares y las gestas heroicas; que las cosas de Dios y de España entren, como sal de bendición, en la levadura germinal de su conciencia. Mas no precisamente para que ‘sepan’. Todo no ha consistir en saber; ¡también tiene su importancia el sentir!”

Federico Torres, a popular schoolbook writer, illustrates the three basic loves of the children promoted by Francoist schoolbooks. In the chapter entitled: “Los tres grandes amores” (“The three great loves”), from a well known reading book for girls, he says: “Our great loves are three: God, the Motherland, and the family. The three of them together constitute the basis, the foundation of our life”<sup>10</sup> (Torres, 1942, 129). Children are taught to love their families, their fatherland, and God just as they are explained the benefits of such love and the miseries of its absence. In other words, children are taught to love and to fear the terrible humiliation and consequences of not loving, respecting, and admiring. They are told who and what to love, in first, second, and third positions, although, somehow and sometimes, there is confusion in this respect.<sup>11</sup> Arguments aim at the emotional structure and not at the intellect. Love is the predominant emotion portrayed in school textbooks, though not the only one. Pride, shame, and fear follow it closely.

***Fusion and identification of elements: Fatherland, family, mother***

A fusion and identification of three central political, symbolic and emotional elements is elaborated; as if they were the same entity, but on different levels: the fatherland, the family, and the mother. A dual interesting linguistic construction is created by the State and the Catholic Church to awaken children’s patriotic and Catholic emotions; appealing to their affective structure:

The first step in the emotional-linguistic strategy is the personification of the fatherland as a loving mother. But why not a Goddess? Why not a queen or a princess? Why not a father? The fatherland becomes “mother fatherland” (la “patria” becomes la “madre patria”). This entity has come to be called Motherland. The metaphor –an oxymoron– is not, however, an invention of the Francoist period; it is adopted from the traditional Spanish right wing groups during the Primo de Rivera Dictatorship (1923-1930)<sup>12</sup> (López, 2001). Both girls and boys are called to love their nation just as much as they love their mothers, or even more. At the same time, on other occasions, the fatherland is directly or indirectly referred to as a family, because it wants to include all Spanish people as brothers and sisters, sharing the same mother (the motherland), and enjoying the same feelings of pride and belonging. This fraternity is also closely linked to the religious imagery of Catholics as the children of God.

The use of figurative language, especially metaphors, is aimed at constructing an attractive, emotional familiar imagery, in which all elements are dignified and magnified. The power of metaphors, as linguistic constructions, resides in their being –in essence–, a social, cultural, and linguistic construction. This means that it

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<sup>10</sup> “Nuestros grandes amores son tres: Dios, Patria y Familia. Los tres unidos constituyen el motivo, el fundamento de nuestra vida.”

<sup>11</sup> In this reading book, the second love is the family, following God’s closely. Nothing is said of the fatherland.

<sup>12</sup> Many authors believe that the ideology of the New Regime finds its origins in the Primo de Rivera Dictatorship and further back in the History of Spain.

is fundamentally a linguistic operation, socially and culturally conditioned. Hung Ng and Bradac argue that metaphors are “models for thinking about social and physical objects and for communicating a complex set of attributes in a shorthand that can be readily understood” (Hung & Bradac, 1993, 138). Isn’t this precisely, one the aims of school textbooks? Metaphors can therefore constitute solid teaching tools, but they are also, at the same time, allies of ideology and necessary for its propagation. Lakoff and Johnson express this idea in a different way, stating that political ideologies are always framed in metaphorical terms (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, 236).

Children become spectators of a poetic image of love, represented by their mothers, their families, and their motherland. The fusion of the three in one sole being encompasses them in an interchangeable manner. Children perceive and identify them on the same level of prestige and dignity. Children are also seduced by the image, experiencing closeness and affection towards the nation which gives them an identity.

In other words, women’s identity was constructed not just on the basis of their compulsory maternity, but through the symbolic formation of motherhood. The phenomenon of motherhood led women to reproduce and represent their families and the Spanish nation, as well as their religion, the Catholic religion. Mothers –not simply women– were portrayed in schoolbooks as feminine symbolic figures –pure, perfect, and immaculate– of the National-Catholic State. Both girls and boys learned to perceive their mothers and mothers in general, as national reproducers and representatives of the Spanish nation. Girls, for their part, could foresee their destiny and duty.

### **Invisible motherhood *versus* visible motherhood**

Fatherhood was seldom represented in schoolbooks as men’s duty or social role, perhaps in the attempt to conceal, forget, or make altogether irrelevant the father’s contribution to the “making of” and arrival of the children (i.e. the idea that a sexual, physical union has taken place). In other words, children arrived because Nature and God had intervened, and motherhood became, paradoxically, a natural and miraculous phenomenon which led to the creation of the family, but in which the father did not participate.

This is demonstrated by the numerous references to children being sent from God, coming down from Heaven, or being brought by a stork. All these classic clichés which have become part of our collective memory from childhood and have survived thanks to the oral tradition of storytelling illustrate the manipulation of the concept and phenomenon of motherhood. In primary schoolbooks, motherhood “starts” when the baby already exists, when the married couple turns into the desired and required family.

Motherhood was never presented in its complete essence, as a process beginning with sexual intercourse (considered taboo), going through pregnancy and obvious physical changes in the woman’s body, passing through the pain of delivery, and



culminating in the care of the baby. The first two stages were ignored and omitted. To be more precise, children were only allowed to know about the last, external, public, social stage and dimension of motherhood: taking care of and educating the baby, the point in which motherhood implied the existence of a family and became equivalent to it. The family was then situated above motherhood itself, in the sense that the latter became its server. This is what allows Federico Torres to place the responsibility of the family's patriotic and Catholic ties on women.

"In the home, the woman is everything. Without her, the family would not exist, with its traditional, Catholic, patriotic ties. For this reason, if she is not a good housewife, the home collapses like a castle of cards blown away by a child"<sup>13</sup> (Torres, 1950, 82).

Thus, schoolbooks contributed to purging sexuality from motherhood and from women's identity. Spanish Gynaecologists, (de Miguel, 1979) men of science, together with politicians and priests, all men as well, had pronounced themselves on women's sexuality and maternity following the ideology of the National Catholic Regime. The exaltation of the symbolic meaning of motherhood, as the feminine national and religious identity *par excellence*, included the silencing of women's sexual identity.

### Breaking the false mirror

The texts I have read stipulate what motherhood and the family "should be", what they are "expected to be", what they are "desired to be", from the point of view of the authorized writer, who follows the State's doctrine. They do not describe the real Spanish family of the time; they prescribe it, and they do so employing a contrived and metaphorical language which appeals more to the emotional rather than to the cognitive structure of the reader's mind.

The promotion of women and motherhood is therefore fundamentally false. It only served other purposes. There was no intrinsic value and respect granted towards mothers as individuals, nor on motherhood as a phenomenon by which life is generated. Despite mothers' essential role in the origin and growth of the family, the maximum authority was still the father. Women (as mothers in the context of a family) were present in the political discourse, but only to obey. Such an exaltation of motherhood and the family in a sexist, patriarchal society was based on another factor: children, because, as another reading schoolbook writer says "the good son gives his fatherland everything he has. His life, blood, and wealth"<sup>14</sup> (Bolinaga, 1940, 81).

If in all societies, two of the main fundamental questions regarding identity and morality which an individual may ask him or herself are "Who am I?" and "What

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<sup>13</sup> "En la casa la mujer lo es todo. Sin ella no existiría la familia, con sus vínculos tradicionales, católicos, patrióticos. Por ello, si la mujer no es buena ama de casa, el hogar se derrumba como castillo de naipes al soplo de un niño."

<sup>14</sup> "Y el buen hijo da a su Patria (sic) cuanto tiene. Vida, sangre y riquezas."

should I do?”, I have tried to show in this brief paper how in the Spanish society which emerged after the Civil War (1936-1939), schoolbooks imposed an emotional indoctrination –mainly through metaphorical, dramatic, and evocative language– on schoolgirls and schoolboys which coerced them to learn, believe, and feel that the only way to be respectable members of their society was as wives, mothers, and housewives, in the case of girls, and by loving their country as if it was their mother, for both girls and boys. Furthermore, it was by fulfilling this duty that they could be considered good Spaniards and good Catholics. Post Civil War Spain, therefore, represents a fascinating example of how schoolbooks can be employed as vehicles for the construction of a single three-dimensional indissoluble identity: the feminine (maternal), national (patriotic), and religious (Catholic) identity, and for the orientation towards the emotional content and force of national identity through the manipulation of key emotions, namely pride, shame, and love.

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# **Peace in Times of Globalization: De-(constructing) Militaristic Identities in language and social studies textbooks in South Asia: the Case of Pakistan**

Muhammad Ayaz Naseem

The Social Studies and Urdu texts in Pakistan construct a meta-narrative of religion and nationalism that includes only the masculine, militaristic and nationalist narratives from past and present. In this meta-narrative both brain and brawn constitute the *forte* of the male Muslim Pakistani citizen. The sources of knowledge are limited to nationalist and religious scriptures. Thus, excluded from the meta-narrative are women, dissidents and minorities. Alternative texts even if religious or nationalist are also excluded and condemned. Experience is decried as unauthentic and unscientific and thus not a credible source of knowledge. Furthermore, the texts graphically and discursively present knowledge-construction and knowledge-provision as essentially male activities.

In this article I examine the textual constitution of militarism and militaristic subjects by the social studies and language (Urdu) texts that are taught in the public school system of Pakistan. My main assumption is that the educational discourse in Pakistan (especially the curricula and the textbooks) draws upon other discourses such as those of media, law, state, etc. to constitute gendered subjects and subjectivities. In doing so it constitutes docile, domestic subjectivities for women, minorities and other marginalized groups and conversely militaristic subjectivities for males. There are a number of ways through which this takes place. Three techniques that the discourses use are: Normalization, homogenization (totalization), and, classification (hierarchization). In this article I primarily focus on normalization especially the normalization of militarism, normalization of authority and normalization of discipline.<sup>1</sup>

## **Normalization**

Normalization refers to the definition of ‘normal’ by the text. In a post-structuralist sense it means the establishment of measurements, hierarchies and regulations around the idea of a distributionary statistical norm within a given population– the

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<sup>1</sup> For a detailed discussion of how classification and hierarchization are used in/by textbooks and curricula to constitute subjectivities please see Naseem, M. A. (In print). The Soldier and the Seductress: A Post-structuralist Analysis of Gendered Citizenship through Inclusion in and Exclusion from Language and Social Studies Textbooks in Pakistan. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*. Also see Naseem, M. A. (2004). Gendered Identity and the Educational Discourse in Pakistan” in P. Ninnes & S. Mehta (eds.) *Re-Imagining the Discourse: Post Foundational Ideas for Comparative Education*. London: Routledge.

ideas of judgment based on what is normal (Ball, 1990, 2; also see Covaleski, 1993). In simple words, it represents all those meanings that are fixed through various means by the discourse and made to look as if they are natural, ever-present and given. An impression of a broad consensus is constructed about their meaning, and large segments of society do not question them.

These meanings then regulate and govern all relations within the society. Any other meaning or interpretation that falls outside this normality becomes an aberration or deviance. All those who are found to be deviant are (or have to be) disciplined. I must mention that just as the meanings fixed for various signs keep shifting in accordance with the shifts in nature and/or the influence of the discourses that fix the meaning, the nature and range of signs to be normalized also changes. In Pakistan's case the measurement of nationalism, patriotism and what it means to be a citizen is accomplished by normalizing militarism, authority, discipline and a gendered social hierarchy.

### ***Normalizing Militarism: Manufacturing Soldiers!***

Militarism is normalized by the texts in many ways. At times it is conveyed in subtle ways through poems and isolated verses, mainly by figures such as Iqbal, Hali, etc. whose nationalist credentials have already been established by the text. At other times militarism is normalized through narratives of epic proportion from the period of early Islamic history known as the *Ghazvat*<sup>2</sup> (literally: battles but the reference is always to the battles that were fought either during the lifetime of the Prophet (PBH) or in the years following his death). The battles and wars of early Muslim adventurers in India such as Muhammad bin Qasim, Mahmood Ghaznavi, Ahmad Shah Abdali, and Sultan Tughlaq are also used to this end. At yet other times militarism is normalized through stories from the three wars between India and Pakistan. The stories of the sacrifices by the valiant sons of Pakistan who were awarded the *Nishan e Haider* (the highest military award in Pakistan) also work to this end.<sup>3</sup> Last but not least essays, poems and chapters on issues seemingly

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<sup>2</sup> Just as the stories of battles between India and Pakistan and those who fought with bravery and sacrificed their lives (and received *Nishan e Haider*) abound the text so do the narratives of *Ghazvat*. A list of full-essay narratives of *Ghazvat* includes: Badr: Urdu for classes 5 and 6, Yarmouk and Ohad: Urdu for class 7, Karbala: Urdu for class 8. Other stories include military heroics of Khalid bin Waleed with respect to the Battle for Spain and other battles: Urdu for class 7, Ma'az, Mouooz, Hamza, Urdu for class 6.

<sup>3</sup> Captain Mohammad Sarwar: Urdu for class 3 (Punjab Board), Lance Naik, Mohammad Mahfooz—Urdu- 3 (GP, 2002) Rashid Minhas—Urdu-4, Sawar Mohammad Hussain—Urdu-5, Major Tufail—Urdu-6, Sarwar Shaheed and Lance Naik Lal Hussain—Urdu-7. In the textbook for Urdu for class 8 all those who received the military award are discussed in one essay. Other than the ones listed above the list includes Major Raja Aziz Bhatti, Major Mohammad Akram, Major Shabbir Sharif, Hawaldar Lalak Jahan, Captain Colonel Sher Khan. It is interesting to note the name of the last mentioned. The second word in the name colonel does not designate his rank but is his middle name. This is a common tradition in some areas of Pakistan from where traditionally men are recruited for the Armed forces to

mundane and unrelated to war are peppered with articulations that normalize militarism and militancy.

The textbooks to constitute subjects with militarist and often-violent consciousness faithfully follow guidelines provided by the Curriculum Documents (CD) issued by the Federal Ministry of Education. Learning competencies that the CD for Social Studies for classes 1-5 (GoP 2002) seeks to develop include: developing an understanding of Hindu-Muslim differences and the need for Pakistan; enhancing the understanding of the forces working against Pakistan; promoting realization about the Kashmir issue; evaluating of the role of India with reference to aggression; and discussing of the role of the present government in reestablishing the sound position of Pakistan and its freedom fighters before the international community (31).

The text seeks to normalize nationalism based on religion, especially as manifested in the two-nation theory discussed in detail earlier. It also seeks to normalize the Hindu-Muslim binary, the normalcy of war between India and Pakistan, the notion of *Jihad* (through reference to Kashmir) and the normalcy of the state as the ultimate protector. The textbooks produced according to these guidelines not only normalize militarism but also gender it.

For example, in an Urdu textbook from 1970s (PTB, 1974) a gendered and militarist explanation of Jihad is used to normalize militarism. In the handwritten comments and edits of the subject specialist (name withheld), the word ‘children’ in sentence “there cannot be any Muslim who has not heard of the word Jihad and Muslims know very well the meaning of this word but there may be some children who might not be clear about it” (12) is struck out and is replaced by the word *larky* (boys). The addressee of the text is gendered and the whole lesson then proceeds to explore the militaristic dimension of Jihad. Though war or military action in fact constitutes only one form of Jihad, the text presents it as the only one and it is boys who should understand this concept well. The essay on *Miner e Pakistan* (The Pakistan Monument) in class four Urdu textbooks (PTB, 2002b) has a graphic representation of how militarism is inculcated as a normal value in children. The pictorial representation of Jinnah’s address to the Lahore crowd also includes a drawing of a boy holding a placard with inscription “*seenay pay goli khayan gai*” (we will take a bullet on our chest) (PTB, 2002b, 39). The same textbook also has pictures of the Pakistan Army. Similarly the class 3 Urdu text (PTB, 2002a) shows battle scenes on the cover of the book. Holy wars, the nationalist struggle and wars with India normalize militarism and glorify martyrdom. Furthermore, both militarism and martyrdom are constructed as exclusively male attributes.

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name sons after ranks or attributes such as Bahadar (brave), Shaheed (martyr), Ghazi (victorious), Mujahid (Islamic fighter) etc. This is one example of the normalcy of militarism.

### ***Normalizing Gendered Militarism***

All references to the 1965 war between India and Pakistan start with the gendered assertion that Indian forces attacked Pakistan on September 6, 1965 in the dark of the night. The implications here are: Indians are not ‘man’ enough to attack in the light of day (as if military strategy, tactics and timing have no role in war planning); they did not officially declare war (the reference here is to the era of pre-mechanized warfare when men used to challenge men); and when confronted by the Pakistani armed forces they ran away like women. In comparison to this, when the Pakistani Air Force pilots attacked Pathankot (an Indian Air Force Base) in the dark of the night, the timing was evidence of sophisticated battle planning and sheer courage. A poetic articulation of this can be seen in a nationalist poem in class 7 Urdu textbook (PTB, 2002d). The poet praises the crescent on the Pakistan flag in the following words. “This crescent is the honor of the curved blade...this is the sign that made Rome and non-Arabs tremble with fear... this is the symbol of battle victors...who even made the deserts, mountains, jungles and earth tremble” (PTB, 2003d, 22).

### ***Constructing Lions, Rambos and Saints***

Furthermore gendered metaphors are used to articulate and masculinize military heroes. Metaphors of animals of prey (lion, falcon, eagle, etc.) are used to describe military heroes. Military figures are also masculinized with metaphors of male sexuality. Mohammad Hussain Shaheed (a war hero from the 1965 Indo-Pakistan war), for example, is described as having a sinewy body, big black eyes and thick brows (PTB, 2002c, 65). Then they are ascribed with Rambo-like superhuman qualities. In accounts of their martyrdom each one of them fought with multiple bullets in him and fought until the mission was accomplished. Finally, these martyrs are included in the list of revered people by adding the suffix of *rahmaatu'lla alaihi*.

### ***Normalizing Authority***

Gendered articulation of professions and professionals also serves to normalize authority. Take for instance the text that engenders the articulation of a district management position. The stated goal of the CD is to introduce the students to how their local government (district) functions. However, the way it is presented also serves to normalize authority. In the class 3 Urdu textbook (PTB, 2002b, 98) for instance, pictures accompanying the essay on district management show three cops guarding the rather colonial office of the deputy commissioner. Pictures on the next page show male judges, male lawyer, male convicts, etc. this is incidentally also the longest essay in the book (about 5 pages, 109-114). The only female figure in the essay is a nurse. The message of the lesson is that authority lies with the district administration/bureaucracy (which, incidentally, is actually the case) and that all authority figures are male.

The Urdu text for class 7 (PTB, 2002d, 80) conflates the ideas of civic order and discipline with battle discipline by exemplifying the former with one of the *Ghazvat* during the Prophet's time. The essentialized message is to respect authority and

maintain a military-like discipline. An earlier class 5 Urdu text informs the student that though citizens are given rights by the state, those who ‘unduly’ demand these rights are not ‘good citizens’. The text also informs students that the attributes of a good citizen are obedience, discipline at all costs, national pride, love of community, national pride, etc. (PTB, 2002c, cf PTB, 1974).

It is interesting to note the reproduction of the state in the above-mentioned text. As the father (the knowledge provider) explains the rights of a citizen to his son: “the first right of the citizen is freedom... second right of the citizen is that the state protects the honor, life and possessions of the citizen... A citizen has the right to enjoy all those facilities that are available e.g. water, power, radio, TV, news...” (PTB, 2002c, 78). The passage, however does not talk about justice as a basic right, nor does it explain what is meant by freedom. In light of the above discussion it can safely be presumed that the only notion of freedom that the ‘son’ will take in is that of freedom from Hindus, the British, etc. Freedom of speech, assembly, association, etc., is never mentioned. Nor does the essay talk about non-discrimination on the basis of sex, color, creed or religious beliefs as the basic rights of citizens. The text emasculates even the male subjects to constitute a docile subjectivity that can be disciplined and ordered. Authority appears to be normal and demanding of rights appears to be an aberration. What is also normalized is the authority of the state as one that safeguards and permits — both masculine attributes. However, the state in this articulation is not a provider or a guarantor of basic freedoms.

### **Homogenizing Theory, Explanation and Reality**

Militarized nationalism constructed by the textbooks and curricula is not only limited to the national level. The texts go on to fix meanings of nationalism at the international level as well. One of the major ways in which such meaning fixation takes place and subjects are constituted and positioned within the discourse is through an across-the-board homogenization of theory and explanation. A prime example of this is the use of the totalizing notions such as *Ummah* and nation etc. by the texts. Theoretically, such totalization is justified by drawing upon the religious notion of *Ummah* (the global Muslim community). The notion is presented in a way that is both divisive and totalizing at the same time. It is divisive in that it separates Muslims from non-Muslims and totalizing in the sense that it obfuscates all cultural, linguistic and sectarian differences within the larger Muslim community without recognizing difference or granting them any rights.

On the level of explanation this totalization seeks to subsume all differences in the notions of nation, national unity and nationalism. Anything that is not or cannot be made a part of the theoretical or explanatory unity of meaning is pushed out into the ‘field of discursivity’. The most common technique used in this respect is reference to Mr. Jinnah’s speeches, often without giving the students any context in which these speeches were made. For example, the class 5 Urdu textbook tells the students that “Quaid i Azam united the Muslims through his untiring efforts and gave them the lesson of faith, unity and discipline. It quotes Mr. Jinnah to have said: “We the

Muslims believe in one God, one Prophet (PBH) and one Book. Thus, it is mandatory upon us that we should be one as a nation too... If we start thinking of ourselves as Punjabis, Sindhis etc. first and Muslim and Pakistanis second, Pakistan will disintegrate..." (10). The cumulative effect of this totalizing articulation can be seen at two levels. One, all groups are expected to subsume their identity in the larger group (*Qaum* i.e. Nation), and, Two, all individuals are expected to subsume their identities into, first, their respective groups and then the larger group (*Qaum*) itself. Thus, if the group or the individual loses or capitulates some rights, it is justified in the larger interest of the *Qaum*. Conversely, any concession given to an individual becomes a concession for the whole group. Thus, Benazir Bhutto's ascent to power or the appointment of Zobaida Jalal as Minister for education is hailed as an achievement for all women of Pakistan.

### ***Homogenization of Time***

Furthermore, the texts homogenize time in order to further strengthen and normalize the militarism. The first step in this process is the construction of imagined time boundaries in terms of before and after: pre- and post-Islamic (before and after the sixth century — with reference to Arabia and before and after the 15th century — with reference to India); and pre- and post-Pakistan's independence (before and after 1947). This construction of imagined time boundaries is gendered in the sense that the pre- or before is always ascribed feminine attributes and represented as time of darkness, ignorance, sin, moral laxity, war, sexual normlessness, etc. The post- or after on the other hand is ascribed with masculine traits such as light, enlightenment, civility, high morals, and so on.

A gendered totalization of time in Urdu and Social Studies textbooks in Pakistan runs something like this: pre-Islamic Arabia and pre-Islamic India are times of darkness, ignorance, intrigue, war, sin, etc., whereas the post Islamic time in both Arabia and India is marked by light, enlightenment, gallantry, civility, etc. To take one example, a Social Studies text makes the time boundaries fluid in the following way:

Before Islam, people lived in untold misery all over the world. Those who ruled over the people lived in luxury and were forgetful of the welfare of their people. People believed in superstitions... and worshipped false gods. In Iran and Iraq people worshipped the sun also. In South-Asian region the Brahmans ruled over the destinies of the people. They believed that certain human beings were untouchable. There was an all-powerful caste-system. The untouchables lived worse than animals. Human beings were sacrificed at alters of false gods.

The self is thus masculine while the 'other' is constructed as feminine. This feminine 'other' can be located at various levels. On the social level this other is the Pakistani woman who serves three purposes. One, she completes the masculinized self of the Pakistani male, two, since she has to be protected against the Hindu/Jew/infidel she completes the militarized self of the Pakistani male, and,



three, this feminized other in shape of the nation needs the militarized masculine state for protection against the regional and extra-regional enemies.

An example of the last mentioned point is the articulation of space (country) in gendered metaphors. Commonly used metaphors are: Motherland, mother, *dharti*, etc. Similarly, *dharti ki kokh* (Earth's womb) from which crops grow, or *Arz e Watan* (literally earth of the Country), to obtain which (in 1947) thousands of people (read: men) sacrificed their material belongings or lives and women lost 'everything' (*Sub kuch*: meaning their honor) while to safeguard this, the martyrs shed their blood. The nation articulated in this manner becomes feminine and thus in need of protection: who can better provide this protection than (of course) the masculine state and the military?

## Conclusions

The educational discourse in Pakistan discursively constitutes various subjects and subjectivities in relation to each other. Particular subject positioning determines their relationship with the state and other subjects. The main reason behind this discursive constitution is to have docile bodies that can be ordered/organized with minimum force and optimal economy so that their bio-power could be harnessed and exploited and put to use. Once these docile bodies are constituted they are ordered by means of discipline that in turn depends largely on surveillance.

As compared to the industrialized world, in post-colonial societies like Pakistan, the physical violence that results from a consciousness fragmented by the colonial projects, as well as the gendered articulation of nationalism, is still very much the rule. The male subject acquires a fragmented and often violent consciousness as a result of bisexual subject positioning with respect to the state. On the one hand, he is the superior citizen delegated with the surveillance gaze and mandated with limited powers to discipline the gendered 'other'. On the other, he occupies a feminine position in needing the protection of the state from the Hindu, and the Jew: from the enemy both within and outside. The subject constituted by the discourse thus has multiple gendered subjectivities.

Once articulated, the subjects are then positioned in the discourse hierarchically, so that those higher up in the hierarchy are privileged over those lower down. A post-structuralist feminist reading of the Social Studies and Urdu texts in Pakistan shows that the social and national reality constructed by the texts has the military and the state on the top, followed by selected male members of the society, and finally women and minorities on the bottom.

Militaristic, masculine and nationalist articulation is then normalized by the educational texts in conjunction with the media, the judicial, and the constitutional texts. This normalization is carried out by means of overt as well as sub-textual representations of masculinity and patriotism, the co-equating of religion and nationalism as one and the same; and a multi-layered gendered constitution of

subjects where the feminine subject is in need of protection from the masculine and militaristic state.

Thus, we see in Pakistan how the military and militarism of all shades and hues, whether in the form of religious fanaticism, violence against women, children and minorities, or support for *Jihadi* organizations domestically and internationally has come to be seen as normal. A manifestation of the normalization of the military and militarism is the fact that Pakistan might be one of the few countries in the world where the military/defence budget is not under the purview of the parliament, even in times when the country has a democratically elected civilian government.

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# Worlds for Beginning Readers –Representations of “Homeland” and “Family” in Russian and Chukchi Textbooks for Early Reading Instruction since the 1960s

Wendelin Sroka<sup>1</sup>

„Our fatherland, our home – mother Russia. We refer to Russia as our fatherland, because our fathers and grandfathers have lived here ever since. And we call Russia our mother, because she nourished us with her bread, raised us with her waters and taught us her language; like a mother she protects and defends us against all enemies.” (P 6, 213)<sup>2</sup> – An illustration: Three generations in the living-room – mother enters the room, carrying a tray with a teapot and teacups, while grandfather, father and son watch a comic on TV, and grandmother and granddaughter read a storybook (P 2, 9). – Another illustration: A herd of reindeer, father and son dressed with fur coats typical for Siberian nomads, the father teaching his son how to throw the rope in order to catch a reindeer (P 8, 46).

These are just three of a great number of texts and pictures which represent specific views of the world, all of them contained in school textbooks for emergent readers in Russia: *bukvary* (reading primers) and *azbuki* (ABC-books).<sup>3</sup> This paper focuses on two important aspects of the world conveyed in primers published in Russia since the 1960s: “homeland” (*rodina*) on the one hand and “family” (*sem'ja*) on the other hand. Based on a diachronic perspective, attention is paid to homeland and family patterns changing over time, especially in the context of the transition from Soviet to post-Soviet society. In addition, the paper takes into account specific features of

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<sup>1</sup> The author wishes to thank his colleague Ellen McKenney (Frankfurt/Main) for her dedication and patience in proofreading and correcting the English version of this paper.

<sup>2</sup> All quotations in this paper are translations from the Russian original; the translations were done by the author. Transliteration of text from the Cyrillic to the Latin alphabet is based on the International Scholarly System (“Scientific Transliteration”). Such general rule notwithstanding, names of internationally known public figures are romanised according to common practise in English (e.g. “Khrushchev” instead of “Hruščev”).

<sup>3</sup> Russia has a very complex history of reading literacy and of media to support learning to read. This complexity is partly reflected in terminology. Whereas the term *bukvar'* is usually reserved to denominate school textbooks for first-graders, *azbuka* can designate basically three types of books: a) an ABC-book which presents the letters in alphabetical order (according to the Russian alphabet: from *a* to *ja*), usually one letter per page, accompanied by one or more pictures; b) an educational aid to support learning to read at home, with a more or less elaborated didactical design; c) a textbook for reading instruction in educational establishments (kindergartens and schools). The term “primer” is used in this paper to designate both *bukvary* and *azbuki* as far as they are designed to be used as textbooks in educational establishments.

these topics as depicted in primers of mother tongue reading instruction for the Chukchi, a small national minority in Siberia's northeast. This allows for pointing at peculiarities of the public and private life of a small nation with a nomadic tradition and their changes in the process of Soviet and post-Soviet modernisation.

In Russia, primers are by tradition an important means of early reading instruction from kindergarten through first grade, and these textbooks are highly valued not least because they display specific views of the world. Moreover, primers are often thought of as being strongly instrumental in the process of cultural integration of children into the "ruling" value system of society. As Ludmila Timoščenko, a specialist for textbooks in Communist Countries put it in 1991: "The integration into the mental world of mankind, the internalisation of moral values starts with the primer, which to a certain degree determines the tendencies of personal development." (Timoščenko, 1991, 3)

Admittedly the context in which primers operate has changed tremendously since 1991, and empirical evidence of their impact on pupils' attitudes is scarce. Nevertheless, and this is certainly true for the situation in Eastern Europe, primers can tell us a lot about how the world is perceived and evaluated in an educational context which students are exposed to at the beginning of their school careers. 'Culture' in primers covers the public domain of national traditions, politics, labour and technology, but also private domains like family life. In the case of Russia with its specific history and with more than 160 peoples, primers deserve a research interest from a variety of viewpoints, including history of ideology, social history, media history as well as ethnological and educational history.

More generally, the primer serves as peculiar source for what we might call 'educational ethnography' – in the sense of research on specific cultural features of socialised education at given times and in given places. The research objectives of this paper are to answer the following questions:

- How is the topic "fatherland" characterised and which role does the topic play as a means of patriotic education in the textbook?
- How is the family described in general? In which sense is it a place where children grow up? And what are the roles of the family members inside and outside the family?
- Which continuities and changes of the representation of "fatherland" and "family" can be identified, under consideration of the substantial political and social transformation in Russia?
- Which communalities and which differences are found by the comparison of Russian and Chukchi primers?

The analysis covers nine textbooks published in Russia since the 1960s – seven Russian and two Chukchi primers. Due to the scope of the material it takes a broad-based approach, rather than providing for an in-depth analysis of particular issues.

### **“Homeland” and “family” in Russian primers of the Soviet era (1960s to 1991)**

In the Soviet Union, the entire process of textbook production was organised by state authorities. In schools where the language of instruction was Russian all over the Union, i.e. both inside and outside the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (RSFSR), the Moscow based state publishing house for educational media (*učebno-pedagogičeskoe izdatel'stvo*), founded in 1930 and re-named to Prosveščeniye in 1964, served as exclusive textbook provider. Based on the principle of “one textbook per subject and grade” some generations of reading primers were published between the 1960s and the end of the Soviet Union. Usually, a primer was reprinted every year, and most of them reached more than 10 editions. The number of copies exceeded 2 million per year, thus qualifying it to be a mass medium in its own right.

For this analysis, two Soviet Russian primers were selected: One is a *bukvar'* which had already been developed in the early 1950s, edited by the Academy of Educational Sciences of the RSFSR and written by a team of authors, led by I. F. Svadkovskij (Svadkovskij-primer). Here we consider the 12th edition, published in 1964 (P 1). The second source is the *bukvar'* by Goreckij, Kirjuškin & Šan'ko, which was introduced on a large-scale basis in 1981 (Goreckij-primer).<sup>4</sup> The 9<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> editions, published in 1989 and 1991 respectively (P 2 – P 3) were included in this analysis.

The Svadkovskij-primer (P 1) starts with pictures and short texts focussing on children's everyday life and environment: Children collecting mushrooms, a boy watering flowers, pupils in the classroom (3 et seq.). It is not until the last section of the book that elements clearly devoted to patriotic education appear. Here, the term “fatherland” is introduced in the context of a presentation of Moscow as “the capital of our fatherland” (83). A picture in the upper half of the page shows the Moskva river in front, crossed by a broad bridge, and in the background there is the Kremlin and the building of St. Basil's Cathedral. The text underneath the picture describes the capital as “the most important and the largest city in our country”, and tells the reader that “on the Red Square stands the mausoleum of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin” (83). Another page is devoted to Lenin, with a colour portrait in the upper half and a children's poem praising the founder of the Soviet Union in the lower part (82). In an equal style, a colour portrait depicts Nikita Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Communist Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union of that time (94). The text characterises him as a “fighter for peace” and quotes him as saying “Our people, our party, our state are fighting for a peaceful life on earth”. Finally, a passage on Jurij Gagarin is designed to inculcate patriotic feelings: “We are proud that the first cosmonaut is a person from the Soviet Union.” (92)

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<sup>4</sup> A series of “experimental” editions of the Goreckij-primer with some 1000 copies each were published from 1971 onwards.

Nevertheless, pictures and texts related to family issues outnumber those connected with fatherland by far. Overall, the family is described as the place where children grow up and where men and women have different roles. The family is also well integrated into working life. In the last part of the primer, a separate section addresses the family. An illustration depicts a three-generation-family in the house, described in the text as follows:

Our family is large. We have a separate flat. In the evening, we all sit together in the dining room. Father reads the paper. Mother and grandmother listen. The brothers Kolja and Petja play chess. Sister Sofia sews a dress. Sometimes we watch TV. (80)

Three generations, four children, the family regularly spending the evening together, the father in white collar and with a tie, gender specific activities of family members, the TV-set: What we see, is to a high degree a well-off middle-class family, and there are only two hints to a Soviet environment: The picture shows Kolja with the red scarf of the Lenin-Pioneers, which was the communist organisation for 10-15 year olds, and the text stresses the “separate flat” (*otdel'naja kvartira*) for the family, as opposed to the collective flat (*kommunal'naja kvartira*) which was introduced in Russia after the October Revolution to house several families.

In the primer of the 1960s, everyday family life is characterised by a caring and active mother, the presence of a number of children and – in most situations – by the absence of the father. The first picture in the textbook related to family is supposed to encourage the reading of the word *mama* (mother). It depicts a young mother in a park, sitting on a park bench and knitting, in front of her is a pram, on one side the daughter is jumping rope, on the other side is a small dog (15). This picture, as a couple of others, conveys the message of motherliness and intimacy within the family. More widespread, however, are situations showing a mother busy keeping the house. In the text on “housework”, the mother prepares dinner, while the girls clean the dishes and iron the clothes (73). A picture shows the mother, cleaning the windows, supported by her daughter, who is about to bring fresh water. Whereas the young readers are informed that mother “went to work” (70) or “worked in the factory” (71), nothing is said about the kind of work she is actually doing there. In the area of work the father gets more attention: Vassilij’s father, e.g., is described as a worker in the automotive industry, constructing motors for heavy vehicles which are used in Russia’s High North (93). Furthermore, in pointing out how important the motor is for a vehicle, the text underlines the importance of the father’s work for society.

A last feature of family life represented in this primer concerns the self-organised life that children are apparently used to in many situations. Not only at home, where children do their homework (72), help their younger siblings to dress (25) or watch the moon from the balcony (20), but also in nature: In the forest they collect mushrooms (13), in the garden they harvest fruit (47) and a meadow is a good place to let a model airplane fly (67). Apart from the picture with Kolja in his Pioneer-scarf the Lenin-Pioneers are only mentioned again twice in this textbook (46 & 63).

Whereas the Svadkovskij-primer presents an altogether rich family life and restricts direct references to “homeland” to few pages in the last part of the book, the situation is different in the Goreckij-primer, published in 1989 (P 2). Here, the pupil is addressed in the foreword as follows:

Dear friend! Today you start your journey into a wonderful, extraordinary country – into the country of knowledge. You will learn to read and write, and for the first time you will write the words which are dearest and closest to all of us: Mama, Homeland, Lenin. The school supports you to become a literate and hard-working citizen of our great homeland – the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. We congratulate you on the start of your educational career, and we donate you the first textbook – the primer. This book will open the door to the world of new, interesting books to you. From this book you will learn how large and wonderful our homeland is and how much the Soviet People undertake so that peace will be on earth forever. (Foreword)

The program of pictures in the first part of the Goreckij-primer follows the canon of “our dearest words”, yet reversing the order: It starts with a whole-page colour portrait of Lenin (2). The next illustration shows children in front giving flowers to a female teacher, apparently at the beginning of the new school year. In the background is a map of the Soviet Union, all in red, and beyond the map a text says “our homeland, the Soviet Union” (3). “Mama” appears for the first time on page 9, as part of the family scene in the illustration described in the introduction to this paper.

The term “homeland Soviet Union” turns out to be the central topic of the Goreckij-primer. It is unfolded in pictures and texts portraying a variety of aspects: the beauty of the country, the performance of the working class under the leadership of the Communist Party, technological progress, the capital as the centre of progress in general, the need to defend the country against enemies and, finally, the national literary heritage. The last part of the primer contains short portraits and extracts from works of no less than seven Russian writers – Puškin, Tolstoj, Ušinskij, Majakovskij, Maršak, Michalkov, Barto and Čukovskij. An attempt to give a notion of “homeland” suitable for children reads as follows:

My and your homeland is the SSSR. What a wonderful native country! Fields, forests, seas and rivers! New factories are being built. Tractors plough the fields. Trains and cars are passing by. High up in the sky, quick Iljušins, Tupolevs, Jaks and Antonovs are flying. The USSR is the country of peace and work. (77)

While the 1989 edition of the Goreckij-primer is very rich in content related to homeland, aspects of family life are again represented in many ways, though more often linked to working life. A first feature is the father engaged in family-related activities: He is playing with his children (19), goes shopping with them to buy modelling clay and a puppet (58), and teaches his son to swim (26). The mother is now depicted as active in three areas: taking care of the children, doing housework and working in the factory. Both parents of young Roma, e.g., are construction workers, who in the past built the metro-lines in Moscow, Kiev and Minsk (59). And Tima’s father as well as Dima’s mother were given the honorary title of “working

hero” (73). The grandfather is introduced as a participant of the Great Patriotic War, who is accompanied by his grandson when attending the meeting of war veterans (102). Lastly, the description of children’s everyday life has been modified since the 1960s primer in so far as their engagement in the “October-children” or Lenin-pioneers’ activities seem to have become more relevant. Now, admission to the October-children-organisation – for 7- to 10-year-olds – is celebrated (89), kids have a badge with the red star of the October-children or the pioneers’-badge (3, 24 and 41) and a Lenin-pioneer shows young children around a museum of the Russian revolution (62).

A powerful and seemingly undisputed Marxism-Leninism and Soviet patriotism in a time when both Marxist-Leninist and Soviet ideology had started to disintegrate is pictured here: Published in 1989 as a textbook for the 1989/90 academic year, the Goreckij-primer can be seen as an example of ‘educational conservatism’ or, as others describe it, of the ‘cultural lag’ of public education. In 1991, a revised version of the Goreckij-primer responded to the new situation (P 3). What is “our homeland” now? The textbook provides two answers: A first answer – a reprint of the text quoted above – declares again the USSR to be “my and your homeland” (77). An excerpt from a work by Konstantin Dimitrievič Ušinskij on “our homeland” gives a second and different answer. As Ušinskij states and argues in detail: “Our homeland, our fatherland is mother (matuška = “small mother”) Russia”. (126) In general, the textbook has reduced the intensity in which traditional political messages were conveyed, but has not given them up completely. On the one hand, the portrait of Lenin has disappeared, as have a number of other texts and pictures on Lenin and Leninism. This was, however, not done consequently. For on the other hand, the foreword, reminding the first-graders of “Mama, homeland, Lenin”, is unchanged, as is text and illustration about the victory of the Bolsheviks (90) as well as the piece on “my grandfather” being a participant of the Great Patriotic War (102). There is also neither a change in the description of parents’ occupations nor any extension of the picture of the family as outlined in the 1980s.

### **“Homeland” and “family” in Russian primers of the post-Soviet era**

The last years of the Soviet Union had already seen first signs of an emerging textbook market in Russia, and this market unfolded enormously during the 1990s. Today, in addition to Prosveščeniye publishers, a number of publishing houses operate successfully in the textbook market on the national or regional level. This is also true for reading primers: The list of school textbooks approved by the Russian Ministry of Education for the academic year 2003/04 includes 11 primers, three of them published by Prosveščeniye (MINOB 2004).

For the analysis of primers of the post-Soviet era, four textbooks were chosen, three of them with Goreckij as co-author: The 1992 and 2000 versions of the traditional Goreckij-primer (P 4, P 5), the *Russkaja Azbuka* (Russian ABC-book) by Goreckij and his old team of authors, published since 1995 by Prosveščeniye as an alternative



to the traditional primer (P 6) and the *Azbuka 1 klass* (1<sup>st</sup> grade ABC-book) by Džeželej, published by Drofa Press, Moscow, since 2001 (P 7).

As was pointed out in the last section, the 1991 edition of the Goreckij-primer had still tried to save some core messages on “homeland”. This attempt was more or less given up entirely in the edition of the following year (P 4). The Goreckij-primer has furthermore not been revised until 2001, which is revealed by comparing the editions of 1992 and 2000 (P 5). Since 1992, the foreword has been omitted and all illustrations of former editions associated with the Soviet Union are missing here, partly deleted and partly replaced by illustrations depicting nature or children’s play. This also applies to Ušinskij’s explanation of “mother Russia”. The sole remaining element of patriotic education is the section on Russian writers and their works. Here, Puškin is presented as “glory and honour of our homeland” (116).

The picture of the family, on the other hand, was principally preserved in the Goreckij-primer from 1981 through 2000. It is again the family of three generations, and Roma’s parents still are construction workers who were engaged earlier in the construction of the undergrounds in Moscow, Kiev and Minsk – the latter now being capitals of independent neighbouring states (59). Only the former “heroes of work” have given room to parents with an ordinary working environment: Now, Tolja’s father works as a toolmaker, while his mother is a kindergarten teacher. (73).

Quite a different world is presented in the *Russkaja Azbuka*, compiled by Goreckij, Kirjuschin, Šanko and Berestov (P 6). Here, the first picture is not a portrait of Lenin anymore, but a drawing of Saints Cyril and Methodius, the apostles of the Slavs, surmounted by a cross (2). In the last part of the textbook, these saints are extensively described as “the first teachers of the Slavs” (214). A double page of the textbook is devoted to “homeland”. It includes a map of Russia, which – in contrast to the former maps of Soviet Russia in plain red – brings out some characteristics of the country: the great rivers, the cities of Moscow and Saint Petersburg and – sitting on sledges pulled by reindeers, or standing beside a tent – some people of Russia’s High North (114 et seq.). Another double page addresses “our homeland” (212 et seq.): It shows a Russian landscape, and above the patron saint of Moscow: Saint George, dispatching the dragon. The next page depicts a monk, writing on a scroll, and underneath once again we encounter Ušinskij’s text on “mother Russia”.

In general, the primer unfolds a concept of “Russia as our homeland” with special reference to national history, religion, tales, poetry and armed forces. A picture, e.g., shows an army of Cossacks, carrying a banner with the picture of Saint Mary with them (158). On the next page a group of modern infantrymen are illustrated, and beyond the picture we encounter the old text about the soldier-grandfather in a slightly modified form: “I have a grandfather. During the war, grandfather was a soldier. He received a mention for bravery.” (159). In most cases, the picture of Russia is that of the past: The grain is harvested with a sickle (163), the blacksmith treats the iron on an anvil (175), and the boy spends his spare time – taking up an old Russian tradition – lying on the oven (185). Only in some cases, where the splendour of Russia is concerned, this orientation towards the past is given up in

favour of symbols of technological progress like a submarine (194) or a skyrocket (92).

In contrast to homeland, the family does not play a greater role in this primer. Representations of family scenarios with two or more generations are limited in number and size. An illustration shows a mother tying the muffler of her son who is about to go to school (34), and a text of one and a half lines reports, that mother sang a song about the kitten (P 7, 91). The most prominent picture presents a family with two children visiting the grandparents who live in the countryside (12).

Another approach is found in the last Russian primer examined in this paper, the *Azbuka 1 klass* by Ol'ga Valentinovna Džeželej (P 7). Here, references to "homeland" are limited to two pages on Moscow as the capital of Russia (146 et seq.). Whereas in the text, the Kremlin and the Red Square are presented as "the heart of the capital", the picture shows Saint Basil's Cathedral in the foreground and the Kremlin with the flag of the Russian Federation in the background, with only a very small part of the Lenin mausoleum visible behind the church. In addition, the text encourages the pupils to visit an exhibition of drawings and photos about "the hero city Moscow – capital of Russia". Family, on the other hand, plays a major role in this textbook, as part of a general approach to describe the world from a children's perspective. Due to this approach many illustrations are designed as children's paintings. Thus, children's life is closely connected to family, be it on an excursion (12), in the garden (18), while playing in the house (84) or at night, when the child is asleep (65). Moreover, the presentation of the relation between generations includes an implicit distinction between family in a narrower and in a broader sense. The broader meaning includes the ancestors, e.g. in the picture series on "Me, dad, grand-dad and great-granddad" (125), and a short text even explains the meaning of great-great-grandfather (ibid.). Another text introduces – by way of a conundrum – the grandfather: He is a man who likes to go to the stadium with his friends, to work in the garden, to drink tea and to eat pierogi, but who is also to be honoured as a "veteran of labour" and a war veteran ((ibid.).

The family in the narrower sense is depicted in a number of illustrations and especially in a reading exercise covering two pages. Whereas the primer of 1964 presented an extended family of three generations which was explicitly called "large", we now read: "Our family is small. It is composed of mum, dad, my sister and myself." (114) Later, the son introduces the individual members of the family, particularly dwelling on the father. Dad is characterised as "not tall, but strong and brave". And: "Father knows everything. He saws, he splits wood, he timbers, he launders and paints. He is a cook and a plumber, a tailor and a bricklayer. That's how my father is. With him, it is interesting and funny." (ibid.) The text continues to describe in great detail how the whole family is engaged in preparing a multi-course dinner, and a corresponding picture presents father and son with cooking caps while standing at the oven. In another illustration, the family is about to clean the flat: While mother and son are cleaning the bookshelf, father is vacuum-cleaning the carpet (11). The mother is mostly mentioned in connection with social relations. As

the quoted text on the family points out: “And how is our mum? She is endearing, natural, tender and beautiful.” (115).

### **“Homeland” and “family” in Chukchi primers**

The Chukchi represent one out of a great number of indigenous peoples in Siberia (RAN, 2003). Most members of the ethnos, numbering around 15.000, live in the Northeast of Russia, in the vicinity of Alaska, on the Chukotka peninsula. For centuries, the majority of the Chukchi had spent a nomadic live in the tundra as reindeer-breeders (‘Reindeer Chukchi’), whereas a minority had settled in homes on the coast, mainly hunting sea mammals (‘Maritime Chukchi’). When the Chukotka-peninsula was conquered by Russia in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the relationship between Chukchi and Russians became strained. Under the Soviet regime, the traditional way of living of the Reindeer Chukchi was heavily affected by collectivisation (Gray, 2004). Only at the beginning of the 1930s the Chukchi language began to be used as literary language. In the course of the last decades of Soviet regime, the process of Russification was pushed, amongst other means, by forcefully sending Chukchi children to Soviet boarding schools. This process caused the decline of the Chukchi language, despite some efforts to teach the vernacular in primary school. Today, the Chukchi language is classified as an endangered language (Vakhtin, 1998).

Primers written in vernacular are developed in Russia for mother-tongue reading instruction in “national schools and classes”. In these institutions, reading is taught within two separate subjects, one being “mother tongue” the other being “Russian language” (Kuzmin *et al.*, 2005). The first primer in Chukchi was published in 1932. This section provides a brief analysis of illustrations out of two editions of the Chukchi primer developed in the 1970s by Vdovin, Karavaeva, Lutfullina and Uvaurgina. We consider the 1<sup>st</sup> edition, published in 1977 by the Leningrad branch of Prosveščeniye, and the 4<sup>th</sup> edition, published by the Saint Petersburg branch of Prosveščeniye in 1994.

As far as “home” is concerned, the Chukchi primer of 1977 (P 8) provides an abundance of pictorial representations. There is a threefold message conveyed in the textbook: the homeland is the Soviet Union, the home of Chukchi children includes the Soviet boarding school and the traditional homeland is the pasture land of the nomadic Chukchi.

The Soviet Union as homeland: The first picture in the textbook is a painting showing the demonstration on Moscow’s Red Square in 1977, commemorating 60 years of the October revolution (3). There is a number of pictures of Moscow with the Kremlin and the Lenin mausoleum (124, 126), there are pictures showing Lenin as a young boy (98), as an adult (120, 121) and as a monument (93, 125), and there are pictures presenting the Soviet Army with tanks and warships (118), Jurij Gagarin (119) and October-children (121). This part of the pictorial program of the textbook is very close to the one we have already encountered in Soviet Russian primers. It is

supplemented by a painting of Anadyr, the capital of the Chukchi Autonomous Region, which depicts huge apartment blocks and an airplane in the background as well as two monuments, one to commemorate Lenin and the other one describing the takeover of power on the Chukotka peninsula by the Soviets in 1920 (125).

The home of Chukchi children, as described in the primer, has specific features. On the one hand, family life is not much different from that of Russian children: It takes place in a well-equipped flat, clothing and furniture are European style, and the living room is the preferential location for family scenes as the following examples show: Parents relax in armchairs, while the son plays being a soldier, equipped with a rifle and a binocular (84); children handing over presents to their mother on International Woman's Day (100); a young boy vacuum-cleaning the carpet, while his father sits in an armchair, reading the paper (17). On the other hand, however, the boarding school is introduced as part of everyday life in a series of illustrations at the beginning of the textbook. Families, coming from afar by track vehicle or by helicopter, bringing their kids to the boarding school (4); in the dorm room a boy is awoken by another boy, while a Lenin-pioneer helps another boy to make the bed (10); Lenin-pioneers help young children into their boots and tie their mufflers to get ready for school (12 & 13): 14 pictures in the primer are devoted to this sort of "socialised education".

Nevertheless, the genuine homeland, as presented in a great number of illustrations in this textbook, is the space of the traditional tundra life of the Reindeer Chukchi. In this area, we do not find any separation from family and work or family and school. Here, a large number of pictures exhibits adults and children spending an outdoor life, close to herds of reindeer, organising and preparing food, about to build up and dismantle the tent, and teaching life-skills to the next generation. Whereas women are responsible for food and clothes (41), men take care of the reindeer, go fishing and act as teachers of their sons. Grandfather e.g. explains tundra plants to his grandson (51), and father teaches the son to catch reindeer (46) and fish (30).

By taking a concluding look at "homeland" and "family" patterns of the post-Soviet primer, published in 1994, we see that the pictorial representation has considerably changed (P 9). The first picture in the textbook is no longer a painting of Moscow's Red Square, but a regional landscape with a river, mountains, meadows and forests, that is looked at by a mother and her two children, all dressed in traditional Chukchi clothes (3). Of all the former references to the Soviet Union as homeland, only the picture of Gagarin is left (111); a new painting of Anadyr, the regional capital, is without any Soviet monuments and, besides some apartment blocks also shows private homes (127).

A major change as compared to the first edition is the increase in the number of illustrations related to family life. Whereas most pictures of the "old" Chukchi life in the tundra have been retained, the majority of pictures now point at children in the environment of a modern private home. This is mainly due to the fact that the illustrations on everyday life in boarding school have nearly entirely been replaced by those on family situations. Thus, the picture about the beginning of the school

year does no longer give any hint to families having travelled from afar, but a mother and her children approach a school building on foot, which suggests that it is now within walking distance (4). In the morning, the young boy finds himself no longer in a dorm, but in a bedroom, awoken not by a fellow pupil, but by his mother (10), and the whole family is convened in the kitchen for dinner (15). In this context, gender models have changed as well. Whereas the mother in the past had received presents on the occasion of International Women's Day, she is now pictured a good housewife preparing a meal (100). Another change concerns the image of the father: Whereas in 1977 he had been reading the paper, while his son was vacuum-cleaning the carpet, 17 years thereafter he himself has taken over this task (17).

## **Resume**

The analysis of primers used for early reading instruction in Russia's educational establishments since the 1960s demonstrates that representations of "homeland" and "family" in these textbooks are characterised by continuities as well as by changes. The fact that authors and designers in most cases have tried to draw a more or less precise picture of homeland and family has not changed over time and is true for both Russian and Chukchi primers.

As for Russian primers, the illustrations and texts send clear messages in the Soviet era identifying the Soviet Union as "our homeland". This aspect becomes even more prominent in the 1980s editions than in the 1960s. The message of the Chukchi primer of that time, on the other hand, is ambiguous. Both the Soviet Union and the tundra as the traditional living space of the Chukchi are portrayed as homeland. In the post-Soviet era, a variety of homeland patterns can be found in Russian primers, reflecting a certain plurality of educational and political viewpoints. Here, the distinctive feature of presenting Russia as homeland is the varying degree in which it is done, ranging from an elaborated orientation focussed on a pre-Soviet Russia and its cultural values to a view of the world where references to homeland are restricted to a minimum. In the case of the Chukchi textbook, the former manifestations addressing the Soviet Union have only partly been replaced by references to Russia, giving more room to pictures about Chukotka. At the same time, the ambiguity of confronting the reader with two homelands – the traditional Chukchi living space and modern Chukotka – is preserved.

Representations of family patterns in the textbooks have also significantly changed since the 1960s, and most changes equally apply to the picture of the Russian and the "modern Chukchi" family. First, the large family, encompassing three generations and a greater number of children, has in general been replaced by the small family with two generations and fewer children. Second, the way how family members show their emotions has a specific history: While motherliness played a certain role in the picture of the family as displayed in the 1960s, emotions in this area more or less have disappeared in the 1980s, emerging again in some post-Soviet primers as part of the picture of the family, e.g. in the way a son describes his father and mother. Parallel to this development, the role of the mother experiences a

change. Whereas in the late Soviet era special attention was paid to mothers' participation in working life, more recent textbooks tend to attach her to household and family-related activities. The father, on the other hand, is now more involved in family matters than he was in the past, both in terms of being an 'active father' to his children and of his involvement in housework.

Finally, the family has become more relevant in the post-Soviet era in the sense of being perceived as a natural environment for children outside school. This is partly due to the disappearance of the Lenin-pioneers, which have constituted a prominent agency of socialisation in the primer of the 1980s. In addition, the role of the family is considerably strengthened in the post-Soviet Chukchi primer in so far as the family has replaced the former Soviet boarding school as the place where children grow up. However, Soviet and post-Soviet Chukchi primers are ambiguous again in that they present traditional and family patterns at the same time.

World-views in primers: The findings presented in this paper reveal specific approaches of textbooks for early reading instruction under given social, political and cultural circumstances. The findings may encourage future research in this area, not least in terms of more detailed analyses of individual texts and illustrations, of systematically linking textbook content to current thought and social reality, of supplementing diachronic analysis by an international comparative perspective and of combining inside and outside perspectives.

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## **Gender Issues and Indian Textbooks**

Kalplata Pandey

As women's education is a critical focus for any 'welfare state' there has been special provision for the education of women in every five year plan projects in India. Under the constitution of India men and women are equal citizens in the eyes of the law hence having the equal rights to all state resources. But social, economic and cultural dynamics have prevented the law from translating into reality. The present status of girls' enrolment in primary, middle and high school are 44.1, 41.8 and 39.5% respectively. Female literacy stands at 53.7% compared to 76% for men, from the 2001 census report. According to government reports, 45 districts in India mainly in the states of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand & Orissa have female literacy below 30% according to the claims of Government of India's report.

The policy makers have time to time opened the dialogue and tried to impress upon the state and its people the gravity and the need to address the role of education in gender parity and gender in educational framework. In the 1967-68 the education commission clearly stated in their report- "Full development of our human resources, for improvement of homes and for molding the character during the most impressionable year of infancy the education of women is of even greater importance than that of men. In the modern world the role of women goes much beyond the home and bringing up of children. She is now adopting a career of her own and sharing equally with man, the responsibility for the development of society in all its aspects. This is the direction in which we will have to move."

The National Policy on Education (1986) revised in 1992, recognized the need to redress traditional gender imbalances in educational access and achievement. It recognized that the entire "educational system is alive to the gender and regional dimension of educational disparities" and that there is a need for a "positive interventionist role in the empowerment of women. In their plan of action it was recommended that all Bureaus of the Department of Education would prepare a concrete action plan addressing gender related concerns as well as a monitoring unit would be created in the planning division of the department to ensure integration of gender issues into policy programmes and schemes". It is clearly stated in the Report of the Task Force on education for women's equality, that "It is impossible to achieve universal Elementary Education unless concerted efforts are made to reach out to the girl child".

Among the various intervention programmes planned by Government in 2000, the 86<sup>th</sup> constitutional Amendment Act. made elementary education a Fundamental Right for all children in the age group of 6-14 years. As education is on the concurrent list and hence a responsibility of both the central and state Government, in July 2003, a special thrust on women's education came from the Indian

government through the National Programme of Education for girls at elementary levels (NPEGEL), as a part of Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA). A budget of over Rs.10 billion has been promised to this scheme. The programme aimed to develop a Model Girl Child Friendly School at the cluster level (10 villages) with incentives to provide uniforms, free textbooks, bridge courses, remedial teaching stationary etc. Another scheme is formulated on behalf of the government the Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya (KGBV) to encourage preferentially backward class and caste girls to be in school. Along with these, the total literacy campaigns (TLCS) have given special emphasis to the empowerment of women, ARISE project by NIEPA to mobilize women & community for UEE, Mahila Samakhya or education for women's equality are some of the efforts that are being made by the Governmental as well as non Governmental organizations.

Despite all the efforts made by different organizations and policy makers, the percentage of girls in comparison to boys according to 2002 data in classes I-V is 46.83, in classes VI-VIII 43.93, in classes IX-X 41.44, in classes XI-XII 41.61 and the overall percentage of Girls enrolment from class I to XII is 45.31%.

Therefore the issue of gender in the textbook is concerned with only those girls who are lucky enough to enter into the school premise to avail the opportunity to have education with the help of textbooks.

As far as the gender issues in textbooks are concerned the real situation can easily be viewed by some of the examples collected while reviewing textbooks. A five year old is told in his primary textbook that daddy is the king of the family and mummy a caring deputy. It happens to be one of those textbooks of school children that perpetuate inherent gender bias by assigning traditional roles to men and women reinforcing stereotypes. It is an irony that despite a conscious effort on the part of the National Policy on Education (1986), women are still depicted in traditional type casts as cooks, nurses etc.

Amongst the finding of a survey report by Friends for Education, a forum to uplift of education, culture and civic sense, it was found that average primary textbooks in India is about 115-130 pages carry 80-100 illustrations with 52 percent depicting men and boys, 28 percent neutral objects, 14 percent mixed and only 6 percent portrayed girl-children. Women, however, are not only losing on the number front alone as the hardest hit comes when we see the constant association of certain traits with males & females. Men man spaces that are conventionally and socially public & outdoor assignments that project them in stronger roles like engineers, lawyers, professors, pilots, mechanics etc. Girls, in most cases are shown as passive observers where the boys are performing important experiments. Even in the class six mathematics books of primary classes, men dominate in activities representing commercial and marketing situations. Not one woman has been shown as a merchant, executive, engineer or seller. Even in jobs dealing with money like transaction in bank, saving schemes all managed by men. Five Hindi and five English textbooks evaluated by Friends for Education show that men are more adventurous, schematic, aggressive and with a scientific bent of mind. Those kinds

of texts might be responsible for the lack of interest that girls show for science at the secondary and senior secondary levels. As a result, a majority of girls take literary and social science courses thus ending up as weaker sex stereotypes. In fact the truth is that at a subconscious level these texts are preparing boys to achieve in the market place while girls are trained to be submissive and to obey at home. These gender stereotypes may adversely affect even the emotional psyche of children by forcing them to perform a set pattern of behavior pre-determined on the basis of gender discrimination in which boys are taught to associate with outdoor activities and girls are made confined to indoor activities. Resultantly despite 4000 years of contribution to science and technology our children as well as most of us do not know about most pioneering women in technology like Empress Shi Dun, who invented paper, Nor Mahal who invented the device to perform attar distillation to make perfume, Helen Griner, who runs a robot company in the world, Franklin who photographed the DNA double helical structure, Maria Michell who discovered comet, Vanitha Rangrajan who is the only Indian women to win an Oscar for her technical work on the movie 'Shrek' etc. These and other such names depict the special role of women in the areas which are projected as the prohibited areas for women to show their talent only.

The effect of this discrimination can be very well observed from this event where female teacher of Lavanya, a first grader in Trichy has marked her answer wrong in the class test because instead of writing "Mother stays at home, cooks food and takes care of the family", she wrote "Mother goes to work, earns money and takes care of family". When asked about this, her teacher answered that she cannot do anything as that is not the answer mentioned in the textbooks. The similar case is of a maths teacher of a junior school who admitted that "I would ask if any in the class could solve the problem. When hands go up, I would pick a boy even though some girls would volunteer "this is just an example of the discriminating behavior due to unconscious bias. The effect of all these reasons led to the social perception of disassociation and the perpetuation of myths of incompatibility between women and technology. This results in the continuation of gender insensitive education for the next generation.

Though continuous efforts are being made since last decades for elimination of female stereotypes in the textbooks but the target is yet to be achieved.

NCERT the apex body of primary & secondary education tried to identify areas in language textbooks in the decade of 80s. Some projects and workshops were launched to build up awareness for the elimination of this gender difference but the situation remains more or less the same. Despite the NCERT, having developed a set of guide lines for the elimination of gender stereotyping in textual material and the same disseminated to the authors and publishers, not much has changed. It all began in 1975 after the conference was held to examine the status of women through curriculum. Along with this, NCERT has also set-up a women s' study group that conducts series of evaluations and workshops.

In report of National Focus Group on Gender Issues with special reference to the impact on textbook & curricular constituted by NCERT it was viewed that initiatives to remove sexist biases in the textbooks undertaken in the last decades are played yet again by their limited understanding. Facilitation of role reversals in order to depict equality amongst sexes without any thought to how the very concept of writing accounts of great men's lives needed rethinking. Exceptional women like Rani Jhansi & Madam Curie were still defined by their domestic roles (textbook writers were careful to point out that despite every thing they continued to perform their domestic roles. In the studies of the books in various states, it is found that women are generally portrayed as passive, dutiful and confined to home. Like the peasants and manual laborers, women are shown largely powerless. The curriculum & textbooks served to maintain the status quo in the larger socio-cultural context in the state and despite all efforts to change the traditional meaning of masculine and the feminine, it still continues to persist along with other oppositional dichotomous categories of active-passive, emotional-rational, nature-culture, dependent-autonomous etc. There is still no conceptualization of curriculum informed by an awareness of how gender is positioned within discourses of knowledge production and its relationship to social power essential in addressing these issues.

After going through the pages it can be easily understood that despite all the efforts what the real situation regarding the elimination of gender stereotypes in textbook is. It is good that now the policy makers and Apex bodies related to education like NCERT & CAGE have taken initiative to reform the curriculum. This is a one step forward in the direction of one of the goals agreed at the UN Millennium summit in September 2000, to eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005 and in all levels of education by 2015.

The committee for consultation with states for National Curriculum Framework Review set up by NCERT. It is observed that often gender is mistaken as practical category but it actually is a conceptual category, which refers to the ways in which societies distinguish them and assign them social roles. Gender relation is not static, it is a process. The instrumentalist approach adopted so far argues girls education will help in birth control improving family status etc. often fails to understand the need of educating girls as their own right. Now it is essential to integrate it with education. Gender issue has its implication for teacher training also. Therefore teachers have to gather the experiences of gender bias in their life and act accordingly. At present, the reform in curriculum and textbooks are being done very seriously and NCERT the apex body has prepared a 124 page document called National Curriculum Framework 2005 in which slogans like learning without burden and child centered education are being used repeatedly. The NCF (2005) document recognized that "we must use textbooks as one of the primary instruments for equality, since for a great majority of school going children, as also for teachers, it is the only accessible and affordable resource for education". More dramatically, it makes a case for doing away with stereotypes based on gender and caste. This change has been accepted widely and it is believed that a redesigned curriculum will not be imparted through textbooks alone. The teacher will be the one conveying it to

students and however well a text book is written, it should have clear pedagogic methods and the teachers will be trained accordingly. Here are examples of some of the changes that can be viewed after the implementation of NCF (2005) in the area of gender stereotypes in textbooks. 'Did you know that it was a woman who invented the bullet proof jacket'? Or that the first 'spiritual leader in history was a woman called Vak, one of several women believed to have written the Vades'? There are just some of the things school students in the country will learn from the next academic year when the textbooks modeled after the National Curriculum Framework (NCF) are printed. The new textbooks have been designed and written keeping in mind the commitment of NCERT to inculcate gender sensitivity in children from an early age and do away with the gender stereotype. The whole idea behind this is to make students realize that there is no basis for the thinking that women are less competent than men, no matter what the field. It is also decided that the reverse of the cover page of NCERT textbooks will now carry messages underlining the achievements of women in various fields and also how articles in the Indian Constitution prohibited discrimination based on sex and enable the state to implement affirmative discrimination in favor of women.

Despite the reforms proposed in NCF there are reports of various committees that however, women at least appear in most textbooks but reports from most states, point out that gender inequalities and prejudices are perpetuated and the social issues underlying women's inequality are typically not adequately explained yet. In many privately produced textbooks, the problem is more intense. Thus a moral science guide in Karnataka states that a woman should put up with her husband's violence in the hope of happiness when her son grows up. The sex segregated curricula in madarassas teach women their domestic roles, while there is no mention of men's domestic responsibilities.

On the basis of issues raised in the present text it can be said that reforms proposed in NCF (2005) is welcoming but still a lot has to be done to reduce the gender stereotypes in the textbooks. Following are the suggestions which may be helpful in this regards:

- The curricula and textbooks need to be revised especially where the role of female is portrayed only as good house wives. There is a need to include achievements and heroic instances of the female gender in equity to the men.
- Teachers need to undergo gender sensitive course in classroom behavior and interaction with student. Teachers should try gender sensitization technique with their students to correct this misconception. For this teachers have to be trained on these lines.
- It needs to be advertised with the help of textbooks that the human brain is not just any muscle tissue and that causes brain cells to form new connections with each other, the more synaptic transmission the better the thinking process irrespective of gender is.

- Textbooks should go through a gender committee comprising of academics, feminists, historians etc. before issuing them to students to make sure that the textbooks have a gender focus.
- Teachers have to choose those textbooks for children that can help children recognize gender-stereotypical messages. For this, they have to choose those books in which girls/women are portrayed in a positive light with active, dynamic roles as well as in which individuals are portrayed with distinctive personalities irrespective of their gender, the language used in the text is gender free, occupations are represented as gender free, achievement are not evaluated on the basis of gender etc.
- Gender sensitive materials at the primary and secondary levels require inputs from those who have struggled to bring women's voices narrative, experiences and world views into the academic main stream.
- Instead of writing out of superficial thinking about the status of girl child, writers have to feel the real status of girl child in the family in a more empathetic manner.
- The production of textbooks should not be treated as any ordinary activity that can be left to private players or even state governments without any supervision or regulation. Educational materials must be produced within the framework of the constitution and according to processes transparent to public.
- A National Textbook Council as suggested by CAGE Committee should be set up to monitor textbooks.

We all accept that textbooks play a significant role in transmitting a society's culture to children and gender roles an important aspect of the culture. How gender is portrayed in books thus contributes to the image children develop of their own role and that of their gender in society. Therefore it must be taken into consideration with full accountability while producing textbooks for the future citizens of globe.

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## **Metaphors of listening in mother tongue textbooks in Norway**

Norunn Askeland

This article is a report from my ongoing dr.art. thesis: Communication about communication: conventional and creative metaphors of communication in six mother tongue textbooks used in Norwegian upper secondary schools - 1997-99. On this occasion I will not deal with creative metaphors, but concentrate on conventional metaphors and especially conventional metaphors of listening. My theoretical framework will be cognitive linguistics, and especially Reddy (1979), Lakoff & Johnson (1980, 1999), Sweetser (1992) and Cameron (2003). To explain my findings I draw upon Linell (1996, 1998) and his ideas about the written language bias, and Peters (1998) and his history of the idea of communication. Furthermore I find anthropological perspectives like Rogoff (2003) interesting as a framework for discussion.

Within cognitive linguistics Reddy was the first linguist to extensively analyse metaphors of communication. Lakoff and Sweetser have developed his theories, and Lakoff has become especially famous for titles like *Metaphors We Live By* and *Philosophy in the Flesh*. The titles suggest that metaphors are inevitable (we live by them) and that they are closely connected to the human body. This is also the fact with metaphors of communication. Our experiences with moving in space make it possible for us to talk about communication as a journey.

The conceptual theory of metaphor has been criticized for lack of conciseness (Clausner and Croft, 1997:260; Grady, 1997:270) and for putting too much weight on everyday human experience instead of culture in metaphor making (Croft and Cruse, 2004:203). Nevertheless the theory can explain phenomenon in language that it is difficult to explain otherwise. A cognitive linguistic approach to metaphor analysis implies that you look for a source domain and a target domain in identifying metaphors. When talking about communication we use journey as a source domain for the target domain of communication. Communication can be compared to walking along a path. When we *talk through something* we ask each other '*Where were we?*'. If we are going to tell something to somebody we might experience that *we lose the track* and we might find that we have to *go through it once more*. Or we might say more than we wanted because we were so eager and suddenly it was just *too late to stop*. If you are writing something you might experience *that the process of writing stops* and *you're stuck*. We know that good writers just *go on* anyway but others might choose to throw away what they have done and *start all over again*. Sometimes they never *reach the end* because they don't go on. The expressions in italics above are called *metaphorical expressions*, and a metaphor consists of metaphorical expressions that have something in common. In order to distinguish

between metaphors and metaphorical expressions in the following the metaphorical expressions will be marked in italics (*where were we*) and the metaphors will be marked like this Communication Is A Journey<sup>1</sup>. The journey metaphor is a good example of a metaphor that can portray communication as cooperation between reader and writer, between listener and speaker. In order to find metaphors of listening I first chose to identify metaphors of communication. But first, something about how I found the metaphors and where I looked for them.

## Methods and material

The problems connected to identifying metaphorical expressions have been addressed by many researchers, such as Gibbs (1999) and Cameron (2003). Cameron maintains that identifying metaphorical expressions is not unlike catching fish with a net. As we all know, the kind of fish you get is dependent upon what kind of net you use. I have followed the advice of Cameron and established categories based on the concept of family resemblance, which is the kind of category Wittgenstein (1953) suggests is suitable for talking about language use. Family resemblance means what it says, namely that members of a family resemble each other in one or more ways. Some members have some kind of resemblance, but all members do not need to resemble each other to constitute a family.

This methodology means that you have to read through the material many times, and when you do that, you find more and more metaphorical expressions. This can mean that it is difficult to stop reading and telling yourself that you have found enough expressions to establish a metaphor.

For identifying journey metaphors I looked for expressions belonging to the domain of journeys. Other metaphors had to do with feeding and digesting, and so I looked for expressions like spoon feeding, digest, swallow, etc. Some methodological problems are connected to the fact that it is hard to establish rules for what belongs to a domain. Is a burden part of the journey domain, or is it not, when we talk about books that are hard to read? In these matters I find support in Wittgenstein's flexible categories of family resemblance. As a working rule for establishing the metaphors the metaphorical expressions had to be used in all books and more than four times in each of them.

The material consists of 18 textbooks with more than 1700 pages. It is important to keep in mind that textbooks have a lot of illustrations and that there is not very much print on the pages in the books. Therefore the material is not as extensive as it looks. And I did not register all metaphors, only the ones that dealt with these topics: speaking, listening, reading and writing in different media (including the Internet).

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<sup>1</sup> This is after Lakoff 1999. In Lakoff & Johnson 1980 the same metaphor was marked like this: *COMMUNICATION IS A JOURNEY*.



## Results

We will present a list of metaphors showing the source domains for the metaphors of communication in the textbooks I examined. Most of the source domains are not connected to journey metaphors but to objects. This could mean that the emphasis is not on communication as a process but on communication as manipulation of different kinds of objects. Here it is important to have in mind that metaphors can be formulated in different ways. Lakoff puts it this way: Communication Is Feeding. I have tried to catch the listening process by formulating the metaphor in this way: Communicating Is Feeding And Digesting.

I will now comment on each of the metaphors and show what kind of metaphorical expressions that belong to them and further discuss if the metaphors include expressions that have to do with the nature of listening.

### ***Communicating Is Feeding And Digesting***

- He *fed them with fresh ideas*
- Sometimes you have to *spoon-feed people*.
- Give people time *to digest your ideas*
- He *swallowed it whole*

Within this metaphor there is a certain balance between feeding and digesting in the textbooks. This metaphor is also interesting because, according to Lakoff, it is less widespread than the other metaphors of communication mentioned here. The next metaphor for example, Communicating Is Sending And Receiving, occur in languages throughout the world (Lakoff, 1999: 241).

### ***Communicating Is Sending And Receiving***

- I got *my idea across* to him.
- We let them *take turns in speaking*.
- You can't just *cast such allegations*.
- The audience must be able to get *the main point*.

This metaphor is very widespread socially and I found many examples of it in my material. Reddy was one of the first to criticise it on the grounds that it makes us think that communication is easily accomplished and just a matter of sending a message through a conduit to a receiver who catches it and eventually unpacks it and understands it immediately. Reddy called it "the conduit metaphor" and wanted to replace it with the toolmaker's paradigm, where communication is looked upon as something you have to work hard for and something that needs activity from both speaker and listener. It should also be noted that there are very few expressions of listening within this metaphor in the material.

### ***Communicating Is Hunting And Being Caught***

This metaphor is related to the sending and receiving metaphor in that it shows the listener or reader as the rather passive prey of the hunter or fisherman.

- Does the author manage to *capture the reader*?
- How can we *hold the audience's attention*?
- Advertising means *aiming for the head* and *hitting the wallet*.
- *Get the reader hooked!*

The same is the case with the following metaphor.

***Communicating Is Planting and Harvesting***

- What do you think the poet wants *to grow from all of the words he has sown*?
- He *harvested much praise* for his book.

This metaphor will allow for metaphorical expressions that have to do with listening, even though they will suggest little activity on behalf of the listener. But there are very few expressions within this metaphor in the material as a whole, mainly because listening is not a very important subject in the textbooks.

***Communicating Is Composing And Listening To Music***

- You must *find your own tone* when you write.
- They might *lend an ear* to your argument.

This metaphor is more frequently used, especially when talking about poetry. Note also that one of the few metaphorical expressions that has to do with listening, namely 'to lend an ear to something', here is used about discussions.

***Communicating Is Creating And Seeing Images***

In this metaphor the writer is prompted to create images in the reader's head and the reader is told to try to recreate them in his or her mind.

- *Give a clear picture* of the situation.
- We must get the reader *to envisage the situation*.
- *Try to see things for yourself* when you read.

Some of the expressions portray the reader or listener as an active person, trying to envisage something, but most of the expressions in the material is sender-based and not occupied with listening activities.

***Communicating Is Lighting And Seeing***

- It's all about *casting* as much *light* as possible *on the subject*.
- It is important to *get your message across clearly*.
- After reading it for a second time *she saw the text with new eyes*.

This metaphor has two other metaphors connected to it: Explaining Is Lighting and Understanding Is Seeing. Metaphorical expressions like *expressing yourself clearly* and *sending clear messages* belong to these metaphors. Peters (1999:28) maintains that in our culture there is a wish for clear communication, and that this is a sign of a therapeutic discourse about communication where the most important thing is to eliminate semantic fog. According to Peters the other discourse is the technical one,

the one with sending and receiving. He also maintains that the two discourses, the therapeutic and the technical one, has dominated the discourse of communication after World War II.. I will return to this question in my conclusion.

***Communicating Is Creating Flow And Navigation***

- It is important *to find the right sources*.
- *The language must be fluent*.
- *Let the questions flow freely*.
- It's unwise to just produce *a torrent of words*.

In the technical understanding of discourse it is important to make language flow easily so that there are no obstacles to communication. On the other hand the flow metaphor also underlines the importance of water and wetness and portrays this element as something positive in communication. *Dry words* are boring. *Juicy things* are nice to listen to and in order to think better you can '*legge hodet i bløt*'<sup>2</sup>.

***Communicating Is Producing And Packing And Unpacking And Consuming***

This metaphor is also connected to the technical discourse with producing and consuming:

- Try to *get out* what you want to say.
- *The final product* is ready for submission.
- Right at the end you can *polish up your spelling and punctuation*.
- TV channels *package serious themes in in an attractive and light way*.

I found a lot of expressions related to producing and packing, but did not find any expressions related to unpacking, or to what can be compared to the act of listening. This is probably again due to the fact that listening is not well covered as a subject in the textbooks.

***Communicating Is Constructing And Reconstructing***

- This is how you *build up a narrative*.
- *Raise clear questions*.
- The first words *lay the foundations of the narrative*.
- The word *ingress* comes from Latin and really means '*entrance*'.

This metaphor, however, requires something more from the listener, who will have to do some building on her own to construct meaning. But then again, there are no metaphorical expressions about *reconstruction* in the textbooks. The aspect of listening is again almost absent.

***Communicating Is Doing Handicraft***

- Readers should be able to *pick up the thread of your essay*.

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<sup>2</sup> The idiom '*legge hodet i bløt*' does not have an equivalent in English. In Norwegian it means to put your head in water to improve your thinking. The closest idiom in English will probably be '*rack your brain*'.

- You can *organise your material* in various ways.
- You can *weave in your own thoughts*.
- Try to see *a pattern in the text*.

There are a lot of expressions covering the process of creation. Many of them are from the domain of handicraft, like sowing, weaving or knitting. Not surprisingly there are very few expressions that have to do with listening. So what can be the reasons for this metaphorical silence on behalf of the subject of listening? Could it be that communication is metaphorized as manipulation of objects dealing with products rather than with processes? The next and last metaphor is the journey metaphor, and this one carries with it the possibility of giving listening more space.

### ***Communicating Is Leading And Following***

- *The author can take the reader to faraway places*
- *In the beginning you must take the reader by the hand and tell him where you are going*
- *Headings are signposts along the way*
- *It is important to follow when someone is talking to you*

As we have seen this is not a very dominant metaphor, compared to all the object metaphors we have discussed so far. Following someone is the same as listening to someone. I guess the reader will not be surprised to hear that there are very few metaphorical expressions from the domain of following and a lot from the domain of leading. Leading is more important than following. Speaking is more important than listening, at least in textbooks of Norwegian for upper secondary school in Norway.

### **Speaking Well Is Speaking Clearly?**

As I mentioned earlier Peters (1998) maintains that there are two discourses that have dominated the discourse of communication after World War II., the technical one and the therapeutic one. Many of the metaphors above and a lot of the expressions in the textbooks seem to support that view. There are many expressions about sending and receiving and about lightening and seeing. Speaking well in textbooks is to speak clearly or to send appropriate messages that don't even need unpacking. But speaking well could also be to be able to listen and give the listener a more important role in the act of communication. But this is an aspect that is neglected in the textbook discourse about communication.

Linell (1996, 1998) discusses the phenomena of neglect of listening in view of the distinction between oral and written cultures and maintains that listening will be of less importance in the written world because "the written language bias" leads to a belief in fixed word meanings and ignorance of contexts and more dialogical perspectives.

There is reason to believe that the importance of listening is a matter of culture. The American professor of psychology, Barbara Rogoff, is interested in the cultural nature of human development and discusses silence as a cultural phenomenon

(Rogoff, 2003). In many societies, like in North American Native communities (Plank, 1994, after Rogoff) silence is valued and among the rural Malinka of French West Africa, speech is carefully used (Laye, 1959, after Rogoff). Rogoff also refers to Condon (1984) who in a guide book for Americans on how to understand the Japanese, makes a list of Americans' habits that the Japanese grumble about. This list shows that there is a difference between the two cultures as far as listening or silence is concerned. Japanese complain that Americans do not listen well but instead are overly eager to offer their own ideas or ask questions before hearing what others have to say. Condon puts it this way:

An American asks a Japanese a question and there is a pause before the Japanese responds. If the question is fairly direct, the pause may be even longer as the Japanese considers how to avoid a direct answer. The American, however, may assume that the pause is because the question was not clearly understood and hence he may rephrase the question (Condon according to Rogoff, 2003: 312f).

Condon (still according to Rogoff) also comments on the fact that when European Americans speak to someone and they don't answer immediately, they tend to think that the question was not clear enough. In my opinion this shows that European Americans have a firm belief in the metaphor Speaking Well Is Speaking Clearly and also that they have a belief in the words themselves regardless of the context they are uttered in. Not only European Americans but also Norwegian textbook authors seem to believe firmly in the metaphor Speaking Well Is Speaking Clearly.

It would be interesting to have a look at Japanese textbooks to see whether these contain more metaphors of both listening and reading. Rogoff finds that there is a difference between American and Japanese children's narratives, and that European American teachers find that the children's narratives appear unimaginative and sparse. The teachers do not always know the Japanese haiku tradition and its importance in Japanese culture. Through haiku, but also through other activities, the children are taught to observe and listen. Therefore they also develop the ability to read between the lines, also in oral communication. This is an ability that is of great importance in a multicultural society, but this is neglected in Norwegian textbooks, and probably in most other Western countries.

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